

JPRS-NEA-84-024

10 February 1984

Near East/South Asia Report

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10 February 1984

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

NEW BOOK, 'L'ARMENIE', IN DEFENSE OF ARMENIAN CAUSE

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 28 Dec 83 p 4

[Text] The ARF [Armenian Revolutionary Federation] Armenian Cause Committee of Argentina recently published, in 3,000 copies, a Spanish translation of Jean-Pierre Alezn's French book dealing with Armenian history.

The translation was done by Nariso Binayan, the noted historian and member of the Argentine Academy of History. He has also written an introduction to the book.

It is worth noting that this is the third printing of the book.

The two previous printings have been sold out and therefore there is an urgent need for this type of work which familiarizes Armenians who do not know their mother tongue and non-Armenians with the essential facts of Armenian history.

Jean-Pierre Alezn's "Armenia" is 120 pages long with two small maps and has a picture of a stone cross on its cover. The small size of its pages and the color pictures make for quick reading. It is published by the EUDERA Press of the university as part of the Biblioteca Asia y Africa series.

We might add that the ARF Armenian Cause Committee plans to publish in Spanish a series of other books favorable to the Armenians.

Forthcoming publications will be works by Arnold Toynbee, Nanssen, Franz Werfel, Morgenthau, Lord Byron and other writers sympathetic to the Armenian people. The Committee also plans the publication of books dealing with Armenian history and the Genocide.

This is a most useful undertaking and in great demand, considering the fact that there are few Spanish sources that can be used for Armenian propaganda--for introducing to the Armenian and non-Armenian public the history, the culture and the political goals of the Armenian people; for presenting the Genocide and the moral, historical and legal bases of the Armenian Cause; for portraying the state of the Armenian people in Armenia and in the Diaspora at the present time.

The ARF Armenian Cause Committee is also planning to begin another project very soon--the recording of the oral histories of survivors of the Armenian Genocide.

It is clear that the people who lived through the Turkish atrocities are gradually diminishing in number and the recoding of their true experiences will be invaluable to the reconstructing of history.

Both the publication of books and the gathering of documents are truly commendable undertakings for propaganda purposes and for the spreading and popularizing of the just demands of the Armenian people.

12364

CSO: 4605/40

EDITORIAL CRITICIZES VERDICT, CONDEMNS JURY MEMBERS

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 9 Jan 84 p 1

[Editorial: "It Is not Fair!"]

[Text] "It is not fair!" was the first reaction of all those who heard the verdict handed down by a Los Angeles jury last weekend in the case of Hampig Sassounian.

"It is not fair!" reiterated all those who had followed, step by step and word by word, H. Sassounian's trial, the testimony of the witnesses and the reports presented to the court by the police and experts.

"It is not fair!" declares and reiterates the entire Armenian nation, from Los Angeles to Lebanon and the Motherland [Soviet Armenia], because the Armenian people are deeply convinced that even if Hampig Sassounian were the Turkish consul's assassin in Los Angeles, he is still innocent and must be regarded as such, because every Armenian terrorist, every Armenian who assassinates a representative of the Turkish government, resorts to that act only as a means of reminding the world of the terrible injustice committed in 1915 and demanding fair restitution from the Turkish government and justice from the world.

But what do the "pledged" jury members of the Los Angeles court say? They brand a son of the Armenian nation a "first degree murderer" by treating his act as identical to an act of willful and premeditated murder by a common criminal.

Did the jury members of the Los Angeles court try to listen to the cries of each and every Armenian demanding justice from the Turk--and themselves--before reaching their misguided verdict? Did they have the courage to turn back the pages of history to seek the causes of the acts of terrorism committed by Armenian young men against Turkish ambassadors and diplomats in American and European cities--acts which, in moments of desperation and in the face of the the world's indifference, can reach the level of self-sacrifice? Did those jury members dare to take a moment and to examine the episodes of the despicable Great Crime conceived, planned and committed by the Turkish government in Turkey during World War I? The memoirs of Ambassador Morgenthau, the U.S. envoy to Turkey at the time, would probably be sufficient to show to the members of the jury the enormity of the crime and the extent of the injustice committed against the Armenian people--an injustice which was unparalleled in its day and which remained so for decades until the day when the dispossessed Armenian nation gave

birth to a new phalanx of claimant young men and women who pledged loyalty to the Armenian nation and its legitimate cause and who threw themselves into an asymmetric battlefield.

Where should we look for the causes of the jury's verdict, on the basis of which the judge can sentence Hampig Sassounian to life imprisonment or even to death?

Should we attribute the verdict to pressuring by the U.S. government which is consumed by a desire to appease Turkey? Probably yes.

Should we attribute it to acts of intervention by Turkey which has been waging a campaign with all resources accorded to a government against the Armenian people and its claimant youth and which, in this case, may have gone as far as buying the entire jury? Most probably yes.

But one truth must be very clear to Turkey and its allies which want to appease it at any cost:

All efforts to conceal and to alter historical facts are futile.

Today, a jury can hand down an unfair verdict against an Armenian and courts and governments can use Hampigs as scapegoats hoping that that way they can blunt the spirit of the liberty and justice-loving Armenian youth.

But the demand for liberty and justice is already in full swing; it cannot and will not stop in the face of such machinations. More importantly, justice does not recognize two standards and two balancing principles, nor can it wear "American" or "Californian" or other faces.

There is and there remains only one Justice--the capitalized one--which stands by the side of H. Sassounian as well as the entire Armenian nation and its rights and which will eventually fulfill the demands of the Armenian youth which has thrown itself into a battle with no retreat.

9588

CSO: 4605/36

MAJOR PAPER PROVIDES RESULTS OF YEAR-END PUBLIC OPINION POLL

Results of Poll Reviewed

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 30 Dec 83 p 11

/Article by Mahmud Murad/

/Text/ Proceeding from the premise of its responsibility toward its readers, on grounds that it is a center for the dissemination of civilization, AL-AHRAM is carrying out this poll, whose purpose is not just to observe last year's events and arrange them in order of importance, but also to let the conclusions provide enlightenment which will help clarify our vision as we proceed on the threshold to a new year which is not detached from the previous one but rather has been born from its womb.

This poll, based on scientific evidence, underlines public opinion trends in Egypt and its positions on the various issues that have been raised. While this poll, or questionnaire, has sought the opinions of 500 Egyptians of various political, economic, cultural and social groups, we do not claim to state that it is a full, complete expression of the /views of the/ Egyptian people. Rather, we can state with confidence that it is as close as it can be to such a full, complete expression, because our choice of the sample of people whose opinions we sought to learn was not influenced by the brilliance of the famous stars on the stage of public activity, on grounds that they were "people with the loudest voices, the ones who always had ready answers, and the ones who considered themselves people who express the opinion of the masses;" instead, the choice was directed toward ordinary people who for the most part have not been accustomed to dealing with papers and indeed never in their lives thought that some day they would find themselves the object of interest, where their views would have "weight" or "value."

Thus we have tried to make the sample not just be an expression of itself, but also, to a large degree, an expression of all of public opinion in Egypt. Therefore, the size of the sample came to 500 people, consisting of 100 workers in Cairo, Giza, and a number of governorates in the Delta and Upper Egypt, 100 peasants from Upper and Lower Egypt, 50 educated persons (half professors in various universities and the rest engineers, doctors, literary persons, and persons in charge of public activity), then 50 merchants, on grounds that they represent domestic capitalism and the nonexploitative

private sector (we might perhaps add that none of them is famous in the world of finance and commerce and has unquestionable ambitions or his own notions about this sector). The sample also included 100 students of both sexes in universities and higher institutes, from Cairo, 'Ayn Shams, al-Azhar, Alexandria, al-Minya, Asyut, Tanta, al-Zaqaziq and al-Minufiyah, 50 people from the labor Party and another 50 from the National Party, approximately half of whom are members of the People's Assembly. Perhaps it might be said, at this point: Why just these two parties? We answer that we have had a prior experience with the Grouping Party, which is willing to contribute only a single form expressing its united opinion to such a poll. At any rate, that is its view, and it is entitled to it. We made great efforts with the Liberal Party, but it sent us back only five forms. In addition, we wrote to the Nation Party, and our correspondent met with its chairman, but obtained only the answers of the party chairman and four people along with him. We sought the opinion of the Wafd Party, in spite of the cases that have been filed, and it told us that it would be better to wait till after the ruling on the contestation the government presented, on which judgment would be made on 2 January 1984. Therefore, we did not refrain from corresponding with any party; indeed we corresponded with a number of independents. Above and beyond that, it is apparent that the sectors of workers, peasants, educated persons and students contain various political currents.

We might next point to the referendum or questionnaire form, and state that it is a small booklet which contains three sections. The first section begins with the question "What are the most important events to have taken place in Egypt in 1983? Put a check mark in the square before the event which you consider important." Under the question, we mentioned 10 important events (as we will notice when the answers are discussed). In the second part of the form we asked "What other events that happened in 1983 do you consider important? We left the answer open for everyone who had an opinion. In the final section, we asked for an answer to four questions: "What was the best book to come out in 1983?" "What was the best motion picture in 1983?" "What was the best play in 1983?" "What was the best song of 1983?"

After the referendum form was designed and printed, the sample group was tested. We then sought the assistance of a number of researchers, in the form of instructors and last-year students in the Social Service Faculty at Hilwan University, to help distribute the form among the individuals on the sample. The form was deposited following an explanation of the manner by which it was explained to that person that he could give his opinion as he wished, in total freedom. After the forms were collected, special programs and tables were prepared for the referendum, and the computer center in AL-AHRAM ("AMAK") took charge of the process of sorting them out and producing the results by computer, that is, in scientific and objective form, without interference from anyone.

Before mentioning the replies, it remains to be stated that the general result of the referendum provides a confirmation of the features of this Egyptian people and honestly and truthfully shows the picture of the people, which might appear distorted to some people, especially people who take a

superficial view of Egyptians, judge them by marginal conduct or behavior which is created by difficult conditions, or try to read their psychology from degenerate films, mediocre plays or trivial commercial songs that are circulated. Although all this, and other things, seem to be apparent on the surface, they are not the essence, and they do not express the nature of the Egyptians, who are extremely proud of their destiny, extremely devoted to their Arabhood, and extremely proud of their genuine nature.

The first important event:

The determination of Egypt's position on Israel as one of refusal to send back the Egyptian ambassador until Taba is returned to Egypt and there is a withdrawal from Lebanon.

This event occupied first place as far as 82.8 percent of the total participants went. The people most enthusiastic about it were young people, students in universities and higher institutes, with 92 percent of the total of this group, then members of the Labor Party, with 90 percent, workers, with 88 percent, and peasants, 86 percent, followed by educated persons, 84 percent, merchants, 78 percent, and the National Party, 74 percent.

The second important event:

The assertion of Egypt's role in nonalignment policy and President Husni Mubarak's appearance at the nonaligned summit conference in India.

This event came in second place as far as 75.2 percent of the total participants in the referendum went. The people who chose this the most were merchants, with 88 percent, followed by members of the Labor Party, with 86 percent, then peasants, 82 percent, workers, 80 percent, students, with 71 percent, educated persons, 60 percent, and the National Party, 52 percent.

The third important event:

The assertion of Egypt's Arab role through its positions and the president's movements and meetings with Arab leaders and personalities.

This was chosen by 65.8 percent of the total participants. In the forefront of the people who chose this were the members of the Labor Party, with a proportion of 80 percent of their total, then merchants, with 76 percent, followed by peasants, with 71 percent, workers, with 69 percent, educated persons, 64 percent, members of the National Party, 58 percent, and students, with 50 percent.

The fourth important event:

Egypt's return to the system of planning and the start of the execution of the 1983-88 5-year plan.

This obtained 64.6 percent of the total. Peasants and members of the National Party were in the lead among the people who chose it, with 74 percent of the

members in each case. Then came workers, with 68 percent, followed by intellectuals, 62 percent, merchants, 60 percent, the Labor Party, also 60 percent, and finally students, with 53 percent.

The fifth important event:

The implantation of the exercise of democracy, with the abrogation of certain exceptional laws and the amendment of the law on suspicious behavior.

This got 63.8 percent of the answers. The greatest proportion choosing this was among merchants, with 78 percent, then peasants, 77 percent, workers, 64 percent, followed by educated persons, 60 percent, members of the Labor Party, 60 percent also, the National Party, 54 percent, and students, 52 percent.

The sixth important event:

The dismissal of the ministers of supply (Ahmad Nuh) and industry (Abu Zaghlal) as a result of material that came out in the trial of 'Isamat al-Sadat.

This event was chosen by 62.6 percent of the total participants. The members of the Labor Party were in the forefront of the people who chose that, with 80 percent of their total number, then peasants, with 73 percent, and workers, with the same percentage, while 72 percent of the merchants chose it, then 53 percent of the students, 44 percent of the educated persons, and, lastly, 30 percent from the National Party.

The seventh important event:

The higher administrative court ruling on the establishment of the Nation and Wafd Parties and the exercise of the sovereignty of the law.

60.4 percent of all the participants agreed over the choice of this. The leading participants were the Labor Party, with 80 percent, then educated persons, 74 percent, peasants, 62 percent, workers, 61 percent, merchants, 58 percent, students, 56 percent, then the National Party, 34 percent.

The eighth important event:

The manifestation of the results of great progress in domestic civilian and military production.

This was chosen by 57.2 percent of the total participants. In the forefront was the Labor Party, with 72 percent, then merchants, with 64 percent, workers, with 63 percent, peasants, with 60 percent, educated persons, with 52 percent, students, with 47 percent, and the National Party, with 44 percent.

The ninth important event:

The holding of the first conference for Egyptians abroad and attention to their issues.

This was chosen by 56.4 percent. This was chosen by the Labor Party, in the proportion of 72 percent, students, 63 percent, workers, 62 percent, educated persons, 62 percent, the National Party, 54 percent, peasants, 45 percent, and merchants, 36 percent.

The tenth important event:

The issuance of a law prohibiting the publication of government documents until a specific time has elapsed or by special permit.

This obtained a small proportion of the total, 26.6 percent. Peasants chose this in the proportion of 33 percent, workers, with 30 percent, merchants and the National Party with 28 percent each, students and the Labor Party, 22 percent each, and educated persons 18 percent.

The Most Important Event: Egypt's Position on Israel

The most important event to occur in 1983 was the determination of Egypt's position on Israel as one of refusal to send back the Egyptian ambassador until Taba is returned to Egypt and there is the withdrawal from Lebanon: 82.8 percent of the total participating in AL-AHRAM's poll were in agreement on this. The following event was the assertion of Egypt's role in nonalignment policy and President Husni Mubarak's attendance at the nonaligned summit conference in India, which was chosen by 75.2 percent of the total participants in the referendum. The third event, which was connected to the first one, the assertion of Egypt's Arab role through its positions and the president's movements and meetings with Arab leaders and personalities, was chosen by 65.8 percent. The following events were:

Egypt's return to the system of planning and the start of execution of the 1983-88 5-year plan, chosen by 64.6 percent.

The implantation of the exercise of democracy through the abrogation of some exceptional laws and the amendment of the law on suspicious conduct: this was chosen by 63.8 percent.

The dismissal of the ministers of supply, Ahmad Nuh, and industry, Fu'ad Abu Zaghlal, as a result of material that came out in the trial of 'Isamat al-Sadat, which was chosen by 62.6 percent.

The higher administrative court ruling on the establishment of the Nation and Wafd parties and the exercise of the sovereignty of the law; this was chosen by 60.4 percent.

The manifestation of the results of great progress in domestic production, both civilian and military, as embodied in rockets, airplanes, artillery and so forth; this was chosen by 57.2 percent.

The holding of the first conference for Egyptians abroad and attention to them and their issues. This was chosen by 56.4 percent.

The issuance of a law prohibiting the publication of government documents before a specific period or without special permit. This obtained only 26.6 percent.

An Independent Opinion!

In the opinion of Fikri al-Jazzar, independent member of the People's Assembly, the most important events of 1983 were Egypt's return to the system of planning, the establishment of the Wafd and Nation parties, and the dismissal of the ministers of supply and industry. The member did not mention any other events and did not contribute to the cultural and artistic questions!

The Chairman of the Labor Party: The Positions of Egypt and the President were Most Important.

In the opinion of Eng Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the Labor Party, the most important event of 1983 in Egypt was the determination of Egypt's position on Israel.

The chairman of the Labor Party chose as the second event the implantation of the exercise of democracy through the elimination of some exceptional laws and the amendment of the law on suspicious behavior. The third event was the dismissal of the ministers of supply and industry as a result of material that came out at the trial of 'Isamat al-Sadat.

Eng Ibrahim Shukri added other important events, such as one very important event, President Mubarak's position on the strategic agreement between Israel and America; other very important events were Arafat's visit to Egypt and his meeting with the president, as well as the issuance of the law on elections to the People's Assembly through lists with relative representation, which would have a great effect, and also the issuance of the higher constitutional court verdict regarding the law on lawyers and the verdict of the higher administrative court on the unconstitutionality of the law dissolving the union's board.

In addition, the chairman of the Labor Party considered that some international events should be added, such as the struggle over the deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe, the election of the Democratic Party in Turkey, which did not support the military authorities, meaning the restoration of democracy in Turkey, and the invasion of Grenada and its significance in the struggle between the two great powers.

Analysis of Poll Results

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 31 Dec 83 p 7

/Article by Mahmud Murad/

/Text/ AL-AHRAM's poll, whose results we published yesterday, Friday, underlined important facts about Egyptian public opinion trends and positions

regarding various issues taking place on the Egyptian stage. One can state, scientifically and objectively, that the Egyptians' faith and adherence to their Egyptian patriotism and Arab nationalism are as intense as they can be, and that, in spite of all their love of peace, they do not ignore their sacred values and do not abuse principles or beliefs. They are not satisfied with anything, whatever it might be, that occurs at the expense of the national soil and the national interest. Therefore, 82.8 percent of the Egyptians gave their absolute support to the Egyptian position vis-a-vis Israel, which will remain strict, until Israel responds to the national demands on the return of Egyptian Taba to Egypt and to /Arab/ nationalism, with the Israeli withdrawal from Arab Lebanon and of course the consequent attainment of the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people and evacuation from the remaining occupied Arab territories.

While Egyptian public opinion is concerned over the Arabhood of Egypt, it also considers that its interests lie in commitment to the policy of non-alignment (by a proportion of 75.2 percent), without any connections with either of the two big powers in the form of alliances.

While that is the view with respect to foreign policy, in the Arab and international contexts, the primary concern and consensus of public opinion in the domestic context is over the planning system, contrary to previous statements which had previously been attributed to Egyptians. They view planning as the proper, correct path toward progress and advancement. This is connected to the attainment of democracy, and the implantation of the exercise of democracy, and therefore occupied second place, after planning. Support for the dismissal of the two ministers around whom rumors were raised at the 'Isamat al-Sadat trial was in application an example of that, proceeding from the principle of revolutionary integrity. There was nothing that was closely or remotely concerning the ruling of the administrative court on the establishment of the Nation and Wafd Parties; apart from the two parties, the important thing here was sovereignty of the law and the independence of the judiciary. In this context, public opinion is concerned with the development and advancement of domestic production in the civilian and military areas, and also with attention to Egyptians abroad and the building of bridges to them.

Alongside these political and nationalistic attitudes, the cultural and artistic choices which appeared in the poll are totally compatible, since religious books, followed by political books, won, on grounds that they are in greater circulation and are preferred by the Egyptian reader. The movie "Bus Driver," the play "Usury and a Knife," and the song, "The Most Important Egyptian" also won, discrediting the suspicion that decadent work and trivial art prevail and once again stressing receptivity to good works with meaning and purpose.

This, perhaps, rapidly summarizes the features of public opinion in Egypt. However, the detailed picture, of course, differs from one sector to another, by virtue of its thinking, its concerns and its views, as follows:

Workers: Workers devote great attention to Egyptian-Israeli relations, and support the national position of principle which Egypt adheres to (by 88 percent). In addition, they support the policy of nonalignment by a large proportion (80 percent). They also support the principle of revolutionary integrity and the sovereignty of the law. That is clear from their choice, by 73 percent, of the incident of the dismissal of the ministers of supply and industry. They also are in favor of the planning system (68 percent), call for the implantation of the exercise of democracy (64 percent) and consider that the emergence of the results of the great progress in production is an important event (63 percent).

To the events the poll sheet mentioned, the workers themselves added other events which they considered to be important, including the president's field trips to jobsites, Egypt's election to membership in the Security Council, Egyptian aid to Iraq, the change in the chairmanship of the People's Assembly, the president's boldness and frankness in dealing with issues, and the national cleanup campaign. Some referred to "the promises officials mention for solving problems which are then not carried out!"

Peasants: As for peasants, national issues also lie at the top of their concerns, contrary to what some people might imagine, that the problems of life consume all their thinking. Eighty-six percent of peasants stressed the Egyptian position on Israel and supported the announcement the president made on sending back the Egyptian ambassador. Contrary to the supposition, 82 percent of the peasants are concerned with and support the assertion of Egypt's role in nonalignment policy and 77 percent of them call for the implantation of the exercise of democracy and the elimination of exceptional laws. In the economic context, 74 percent support the system of planning and link that to integrity and probity, since 73 percent chose the incident of the dismissal of the two ministers. Following that come the peasants' concerns; 62 percent are concerned with the ruling on the establishment of the Wafd and Nation Parties, while 60 percent are interested in the emergence of the results of national production. However, the concern over the holding of the conference of Egyptians abroad (45 percent) and the issuance of a law prohibiting the publication of government documents (33 percent) is minor.

The peasants added some events, such as the president's interest in improving agriculture, the change in the chairmanship of the People's Assembly, and the election of Egypt to the Security Council.

Educated persons: The Egyptian position on Israel, again, was what they were most concerned with (84 percent), then the ruling of the higher court on the establishment of the Wafd and Nation Parties (74 percent), after which they chose the assertion of Egypt's Arab role (64 percent), the return to the system of planning (62 percent), and the holding of the first conference for Egyptians abroad (62 percent). That was followed by emphasis on Egypt's role in nonalignment policy (60 percent), the implantation of the exercise of democracy (60 percent), then the development of domestic production (52 percent) and the dismissal of the two ministers (44 percent). They were concerned with the issuance of the law prohibiting the publication of documents only by a proportion of 18 percent.

Educated persons added field visits by the president, the election of Egypt to the Security Council, the serious orientation toward village development, and Egypt's position on the Gulf war and the Palestinian revolution.

Merchants: Their primary concern (88 percent) was with Egypt's nonaligned policy. Their concern with the determination of Egypt's position on Israel and the implantation of the exercise of democracy were equal (78 percent). After this they were concerned with Egypt's Arab role (76 percent), the dismissal of the two ministers (74 percent), then the development of domestic production (64 percent), the return of the planning system (60 percent), and the ruling on the establishment of the Wafd and the Nation Parties (58 percent). Only 36 percent were concerned with the conference of Egyptians and 28 percent with the law prohibiting the publication of government documents.

The merchants added events embodied in such problems as the construction of bridges without planning, the shortage of manpower, and the shortage of production accessories (quantities of yarn, for example).

Students: Their primary concern was with Egypt's position on Israel (92 percent), nonalignment policy (71 percent), then the holding of the conference on Egyptians abroad (63 percent), followed by the ruling on the establishment of the two parties (56 percent), the return of the system of planning and the dismissal of the two ministers (53 percent), then the assertion of Egypt's Arab role (50 percent). Only 22 percent were concerned with the law prohibiting the publication of government documents.

The students added the president's attack on certain issues which concern the people, the change in the chairmanship of the People's assembly, and the president's visits to field sites.

The Labor Party: Its entire primary concern was with the position on Israel, 90 percent, then nonaligned policy, 86 percent; after this, 80 percent of the party was concerned with the assertion of Egypt's Arab role, the ruling on the establishment of the two parties, and the dismissal of the two ministers. Seventy-two percent were concerned with the development of production and the conference on Egyptians abroad, and 60 percent with the implantation of the exercise of democracy and return of the planning system, while only 22 percent were concerned with the law prohibiting the publication of documents.

The members of the Labor Party added the change in chairmanship of the People's Assembly, Egypt's position on the Gulf war, the president's declaration that the strategic agreement between America and Israel should be considered a disaster, and the party's demand for the abrogation of the laws restricting freedoms.

The National Party: Its choice was on Egypt's position on Israel, 74 percent; it then chose, by the same percentage, the return to the system of planning, then the assertion of Egypt's Arab role (58 percent), and, after that, by the same proportion (54 percent), the implantation of the exercise

of democracy and the holding of the conference on Egyptians. After that, 52 percent were concerned with the assertion of Egypt's nonaligned policy, and only 44 percent were concerned with the development of production, just 34 percent with the establishment of the two parties, 30 percent with the dismissal of the two ministers, and 28 percent with the law on documents.

The party members added the establishment of the Nile Valley Parliament, the election of Egypt to the Security Council and the president's visits to production sites.

This is how the poll went, and this is what the results were. This has also been an attempt to analyze the figures, which are not mute but articulate many facts on the nature of the Egyptian people and public opinion trends in our country. As we have said, one can state truthfully and sincerely that these results are as close as can be to an expression of the Egyptians' concerns, and they are a contradiction of any distorted picture which might be based on a superficial view of matters. People are totally sincere when they come together within their own spirits, which was our goal when we handed them the referendum form and left them alone with it, with no one to watch over them except "the conscience," especially since we have made mentioning names and personal data voluntary, so that we can infer people's opinions in a pure, clear, and clean form.

Mumtaz Nassar: Politics Only!

Counsellor Mumtaz Nassar, member of the People's Assembly and an independent, said that the most important events were the assertion of Egypt's role in nonalignment policy, the assertion of Egypt's Arab role, the implantation of the exercise of democracy, the emergence of results of great development in domestic production, the return of the system of planning, the ruling on the establishment of the Nation and Wafd parties, the holding of the first conference for Egyptians abroad, and the dismissal of the ministers of supply and industry. Counsellor Mumtaz Nassar did not reply to the other, non-political questions and added that no relations with Israel /sentence ends at this point/.

Chairman of the Nation Party: My Book Is Better!

Ahmad al-Sabahi 'Awadallah, the chairman of the Nation Party, said that all the events AL-AHRAM's poll mentioned should be considered the most important of 1983. To them he added the strike by Dr 'Isamat Zayn-al-'Abidin, the nuclear physics scholar at the University of Alexandria, in protest against its president's conduct, the declaration of the American-Israeli strategic alliance, Egypt's rejection of it, Nation Party participation in the local assembly elections, and the victory of its candidate in the al-Sahil district.

Al-Sabahi did not write down his opinions on the best movie, play and song, and, in answer to the question on the best book to come out in 1983, wrote, in his own hand, "The book 'The Morality of the Prophets,' by Prof Ahmad al-Sabahi 'Awadallah.'"

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CSO: 4504/121

PAPER COMMENTS ON EFFECTS OF U.S. UNESCO WITHDRAWAL

Problems Seen

Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 29.

The U.S. is setting up what has been designated as a National Foundation for Democracy with headquarters in Washington to establish contact with "free" institutions abroad and promote better understanding with them in both political and non-political spheres to propagate the cause of "freedom".

The endowment is being created on a bipartisan basis with the approval of both the Republicans and the Democrats in U.S. Congress in pursuance of the announcement made by President Reagan last year in a speech to members of British Parliament to support democratic institutions.

After the U.S. decision to withdraw from the UNESCO, the Reagan Administration has allotted initially \$30 millions (Rs. 30 crores) to this endowment out of an estimated \$90 millions a year that would be saved from 1985 onwards by relieving itself of the obligation to foot 25 per cent of the agency's annual budget.

The intention of Mr. Reagan appears to be increase the grant gradually to this endowment for democracy by diverting all the money that is saved by withdrawing from the UNESCO.

Though the purpose of setting up this endowment is rather limited at present, it might be expanded over the years to function as a parallel UNESCO to extend and diversify the U.S. contacts with democratic societies, especially in the third world which are vulnerable to such influence.

If the U.S. finally withdraws from the UNESCO after the expiry of one-year notice, it might persuade some other western countries to quit in protest against the alleged pro-Soviet tilt in the agency's policies and programmes.

Problems for India: The establishment of this endowment for promoting the cause of democracy is going to pose problems for countries like India which have to make up their minds whether to allow the U.S. to have direct institutional links with their educational institutions, trade unions and other bodies of a political or quasi-political nature. The Govern-

ments of these countries which are democracies in their own right might not want the new U.S. endowment functioning through various affiliates to have close contacts with their political parties and other institutions.

The problem is posed for India in a sharper form and in a more immediate context in the wake of the Government's directive to the AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations) sponsored American-Asian Free Labour Institute (AAFLI) in Ahmedabad to close down. It has now been confirmed that the newly created endowment for democracy will be financing these AFL-CIO projects in the field of labour relations.

The Government of India was not even aware that AAFLI has been functioning freely in Ahmedabad for the last four years since its establishment in Janata time. The Centre became aware of its existence recently only when the institute sought permission to shift its office to Delhi.

Closure of Institute: The decision to order the closure was taken by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, when the Home Ministry drew her attention to AAFLI's contacts with both the Congress (I) and the non-Congress (I) trade unions. The U.S. embassy has been pressing for a reconsideration of the closure order and even Senators Edward Kennedy and Patrick Moynihan have written to Mrs. Gandhi about it.

The Indian directive to this American-sponsored institute to close down seemed discriminatory in the eyes of the U.S. Government, since two West German trade unions have been allowed to have similar representative bodies in India without any hindrance. The Larkins episode has come in the way of any reconsideration of this decision, before the issue has been further complicated by the U.S. decision to set up the new endowment for promoting the cause of democracy even in countries like India that are not in need of this propagation.

(Air Vice Marshal K. H. Larkins and his elder brother Maj. Gen. F. D. Larkins both retired, had been arrested on espionage charges).

The UNESCO controversy has introduced further overtones into what is essentially a bilateral matter between India and the United States. Any Indian refusal to reconsider the order to AAFU to close down is likely to be misconstrued as an expression of Indian displeasure over the American decision.

UPI reports from Bonn:

A Government spokesman said today West Germany shared the American concern over the UNESCO, but believed there was a chance of changing the organisation's policies.

'Intolerance' of U.S. Policy

Madras THE HINDU in English 31 Dec 83 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE AMERICAN DECISION to withdraw from the UNESCO reflects the heightened intolerance of differing viewpoints and perceptions that has characterised the Reagan Administration's foreign policy. The brief announcement two days ago said that continuing in the organisation would not serve its interests, but a review by the State Department earlier spelt out the reasons more explicitly. The review in fact lent strong support to the decade old campaign by the extreme right that UNESCO had become radicalised politically, automatically supporting Soviet and/or Third World formulations, adopting an anti-American posture and discarding the Western ideals of individual and economic freedom. The two issues that were seized upon as symbolising these trends were the world body's criticism of Israel's treatment of Arabs and its enthusiastic advocacy of a new international information order. In deciding to withdraw, the message that Washington intends to get across to the world bodies and to individual nations is that its continued support and assistance will be conditional on toning down their criticism of U.S. actions and policies, that a quid pro quo in terms of political support will be extracted for what earlier appeared to pass as acts of goodwill and benevolence. What is amazing is that a superpower such as the United States should think it fit and wise to employ tactics so crude and without grace to pressure other countries, particularly those not well-off, in a bid to reverse the trends towards the multilateralism of the 1970's — to change a position that was intended to lead to an equitable disbursement of aid and support, uninhibited by political likes and dislikes.

The withdrawal is to take effect after a year, but some American analysts have even suggested that it may not come about after all,

for the causes for dissatisfaction could well be removed. Not very likely this, seeing that the Reagan Administration which lays great store by steadfast adherence to declared policies cannot go back on a major decision such as the one on UNESCO without something to show for it. And the other members in the UNESCO cannot change tack in the face of what is patently bullying and precisely for that reason will continue to speak in the same tone and hold on to the same stance as before. The U.S. contributes a quarter of UNESCO's budget of \$374.4 millions and while the loss of that amount would be significant at a time when higher appropriations are awaited, it is not too big for other members to make it up through stepping up their own quotas of payment. But that is not the point at issue. The really worrying matter for the members — especially the developing countries — in the various bodies serving them under the auspices of the United Nations is the increasing tendency on the part of the more powerful nations to drop their support to the U.N. the moment they see that the organisation refuses to act as one more instrument in their hands with which to make lesser powers bend.

CSO: 4600/1416

CPI WELCOMES CPSU COMMUNIQUE ON RELATIONS WITH INDIA

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Dec 83 p 7

[Text]

The CPI has welcomed the communique of the CPSU politbureau on "concrete measures aimed at deepening many-faceted cooperation between the two countries".

In a statement on Tuesday, the CPI central secretariat "highly appreciated" the statement and described it as "a document of great significance for the international struggle for preserving peace and national struggle for defending our national unity and independence".

The statement said the essence of these measures was to assist India in achieving self-reliance in such core sectors of the economy as power, coal, oil, metallurgy, engineering, electronics, space, and last but not the least, defence.

Soviet assistance in these vital fields is technically competent, financially cheap and politically without any strings, it added.

The central secretariat pointed out that the Soviet Union was already the biggest trading partner of India and further expansion as per the trade protocol for 1984 would play a significant

role in stabilising the Indian economy by enabling it to stand up against the diverse kinds of pressures and blackmail of US imperialism, the World Bank, the IMF and other imperialist agencies.

Thus, the politbureau of the CPSU has "stressed the great importance of strengthening close Soviet-Indian cooperation in political, economic, cultural and other fields and in the work to avert the threat of war and to ensure peace in Asia and elsewhere", the statement said.

The CPI said "coming at a time when our country is faced with mounting threats to its security, as well as unity and integrity, from forces propped up, armed and financed by the US imperialism, this authoritative declaration of the highest Soviet leadership will strike a resolute cord in the heart of every Indian patriot, democrat and partisan of peace and help to play a big role in developing a powerful mass movement in our country for the defence of peace, democracy, self-reliance and national security".

CSO: 4600/1424

G. K. REDDY REPORTS DEVELOPMENTS IN TAMIL SITUATION

Jayewardene Proposals Examined

Madras THE HINDU in English 1 Jan 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, Dec. 31.

The three TULF leaders—Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Mr. Sivasubramanian and Mr. R. Sampantham—had separate discussions today with the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, and the Prime Minister's special envoy, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, on the implications of the 14 points put forward by the Sri Lanka President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, for consideration of the all-party conference which has been convened to find an amicable solution to the island's ethnic problem.

The Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr. S. J. S. Chhatwal, who has been called to Delhi for consultations, was present at these discussions, which will be resumed tomorrow with Mr. Parthasarathy and possibly continued on Monday. The TULF leaders hope to call on the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on Monday to voice their concern about some glaring omissions in Mr. Jayewardene's proposal of what had been privately agreed upon during his recent visit.

But in the letters he has addressed to the leaders of the 10 parties, including the TULF, inviting them to the round-table conference to be held from January 10 to 20 in Colombo, Mr. Jayewardene referred to his 14 points not as proposals but only as "matters suggested for formulation of an agenda for the all-party conference."

The TULF leaders want to make doubly certain before accepting the invitation to participate in this conference that Mr. Jayewardene would honour his private commitment and not try to wriggle out of what had been agreed upon by him in Delhi by watering down some of the key elements for a settlement of the Tamil problem.

Mr. Parthasarathy, and the TULF leaders are quite understandably reluctant at this stage to di-

sclose the full details of what Mr. Jayewardene had conceded during his talks in Delhi. But apart from his continued refusal to agree to the formation of a single Tamil-majority region covering both northern and eastern districts, Mr. Jayewardene has gone back on his assurance that he would not insist on a district-level referendum to endorse any decision for the merger of districts into larger regions.

Crucial issue: What is worse from the TULF's point of view is that the Sri Lanka President has been talking also of a national referendum, contrary to the understanding reached in Delhi, to approve any settlement reached for giving regional autonomy to the Tamil people. But the idea of a national referendum does not form part of Mr. Jayewardene's 14-points, which leave the door open for obtaining the necessary clarification on this crucial issue before the commencement of the all-party conference.

The other issues on which the TULF leaders are seeking clarifications relate to the absence of any specific mention of the specific powers of the regional councils, especially in relation to law and order, land and development. They are particularly keen that there should be no ambiguity at all in the interpretation of the provision that the President and Parliament shall continue to have overall responsibility in all matters relating to the "maintenance of the sovereignty, integrity, unity, security, progress and development of the republic as a whole".

If the implications of this overriding proviso are not properly elucidated to the satisfaction of the Tamil leaders with suitable safeguards against any misinterpretation or misuse of Central jurisdiction, the Tamil minority will remain at the mercy of the Sinhala majority all the time with the threat of intervention hanging over its head all the time like the proverbial sword of Damocles.

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Jan 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 1.

The Tamil United Liberation Front leaders may not agree to participate in the all-party conference in Colombo on January 10, if no satisfactory assurances are offered in time by the Sri Lanka President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, that he would not go back on any of the basic postulates or procedures for the grant of full autonomy to the Tamil minority that had been agreed upon in principle during his recent talks in Delhi, according to knowledgeable circles here.

The Government of India, too, has noticed a hardening of the Sri Lankan attitude after Mr. Jayewardene's return to Colombo in the sense that he has not only started harping on the idea of a referendum again, but also begun to hedge on the content of the proposed autonomy for the Tamil region.

Jayewardene's reluctance

What is even more perplexing, from India's point of view, is that the Sri Lanka President and his advisers are no longer enthusiastic about any other visit to Colombo by the Prime Minister's special envoy, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, to obtain the necessary clarifications and clear the way for the commencement of a proper dialogue at the all-party conference. This reluctance on the part of Mr. Jayewardene and his colleagues to fully utilise India's good offices, only added to the apprehensions of the TULF leaders that the Sri Lanka Government has been playing for time by talking of a reconciliation.

The TULF leaders had further discussions with Mr. Parthasarathy today, before he conveyed their misgivings to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, about the glaring omissions in Mr. Jayewardene's 14-points. They are hoping to meet Mrs. Gandhi tomorrow, if possible, before returning to Madras to place Mr. Jayewardene's invitation before the party's politburo for decision.

The clarification issued in Colombo yesterday by the Secretary of the proposed round-table conference, Mr. E. F. Dias Abeyasinghe, that the 14-points communicated to the 10 political parties along with the letters of invitation to them were not proposals for a settlement of the Tamil problem but only

suggestions for the formulation of an agenda by the conference has not helped to dispel the misgivings of the TULF leaders about their implications.

Evading of responsibility

It has, on the contrary, made them even more apprehensive that, in avoiding the presentation of a package of proposals by the Government and attempting to pass on the buck to the invited political parties to formulate an agenda reflecting their basic approach to a settlement, Mr. Jayewardene has tried to evade responsibility in coming forward with some concrete suggestions on the basis of the broad understanding reached during his talks in Delhi.

The very first of his 14 points, would require the TULF to give up the idea of a separate State, as though it was an essential pre-condition for engaging in any substantive discussions. This may or may not be a correct assessment of the purpose of listing this as the very first point, but the insistence on a referendum at the district level before the formation of regions and the over-riding jurisdiction that Mr. Jayewardene has sought to retain for the Centre, in all matters relating to the maintenance of sovereignty, integrity, unity, security, progress and development of Sri Lanka as a whole, has cast serious doubts in the minds of the TULF leaders about his intentions.

It is quite possible that Mr. Jayewardene has chosen to move cautiously to first carry the Sinhala public opinion with him, instead of trying to force the pace by coming forward with a set of proposals that could be misconstrued by the hardliners. It would be expedient for India in such a case to advise the TULF leaders to voice their apprehensions but accept the invitation and attend the conference to see how the talks progress without prejudice to their basic position.

If the rigid posture that Mr. Jayewardene has adopted is only tactical, it should not really stand in the way of the TULF's acceptance of the invitation to the all-party conference. But if it represents a shift in his strategy to go back on what has already been agreed upon, it would be a serious matter requiring a reappraisal of the whole Indian approach to this problem.

Points for Discussion

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Jan 84 p 6

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 1.

The Sri Lanka President, Mr. J. R.

Jayewardene, has suggested the following 14 points for consideration by the all-party con-

ference on the Tamils' issue from January 10.

1. The giving up of the idea of a separate State. 2. The merger of the district development councils within a province after the acceptance by the council members and a referendum in the district. This proposal would be applicable to the whole country. 3. Regions that have regional councils to establish a convention that the leader of the party which commands the majority in a regional council would be formally appointed by the President as the Chief Minister of the region. He will work with a committee of the council members constituted by him.

4. The President and Parliament to continue to have overall responsibility for all subjects not transferred to the region and generally for all other matters relating to the maintenance of the sovereignty, integrity, unity, security, progress and development of the republic as a whole.

5. The list of subjects to be allocated to the regions to be worked out in detail. The regional councils to be empowered to enact laws and exercise executive powers in relation thereto. The council to have the power to levy taxes, cess or fees and to raise loans and also to receive grants and allocations from the central government. 6. The recognition of the administration of the Trincomalee port as a central government function. 7. High Courts to function in each region while the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka will exercise separate and constitutional jurisdiction.

8. The constitution of a regional service of those serving in the region and those who will be seconded to the region. 9. Regional public service commissions to be created for recruitment and disciplinary action. 10. The public services of Sri Lanka and the armed services to reflect the national ethnic composition. 11. The police services for internal security to reflect ethnic composition of the regions.

12. A national policy on land settlement to be worked out. 13. The constitution and other laws dealing with the official language, Sinhala, and the national language, Tamil, be accepted and implemented as well as similar laws dealing with the national flag and national anthem.

14. United opposition to the use of terrorism to attain political objectives.

Our Colombo Correspondent writes:

The island's Presidential Secretariat made it clear that the proposals were not that of the Government or from the first all party talks but were simply ideas that emanated in the parleys between Mr. Jayewardene and the Indian leaders.

The leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Opposition, Mr. Anura Bandaranaike said the SLFP central committee would meet on January 4. The decision to attend the all party conference was unanimous.

But according to a report, some party members are moving to review the earlier stand taken regarding the round table conference. A few extremists in the party are said to be creating an opinion against the party stand on the conference. They want the disenfranchisement of the party leader Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike to be made an excuse. However, Mrs. Bandaranaike is in a difficult situation as she had already announced that she will not make an issue of her deprivation of civic rights.

Dr. Calvin R. De Silva, leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party said the party's politburo would consider the President's communication tomorrow.

Mr. K. P. Silva of the Communist Party said the CP politburo would meet on Tuesday. So will the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna of Mr. Dinesh Goonewardene.

The Tamil United Liberation Front President, Mr. Sivasithamparam and its General Secretary, Mr. A. Amirthalingam are expected in the island on January 3 or 4.

New Year message: In a New Year message Mr. Jayewardene said: "Incidents of July last year have caused untoward damage to our land both at home and abroad. We must now work towards wiping that ugly blot off the pages of our history. So let all of us work together so that whilst ensuring preservation of rights of the majority community, rights of all other minority communities are also preserved. To achieve this task I need the cooperation of all of you".

Intervention from Gandhi

Madras THE HINDU in English 3 Jan 84 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 2.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has intervened to save the all-party conference from a deadlock even before it has begun, following the disinclination of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) to participate in the dialogue in the absence of adequate assurances from the Sri Lanka President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, that he would abide by the understanding reached during his recent visit to Delhi.

After she had spoken to Mr. Jayewardene over the telephone last night, it has been

agreed that Mr. G. Parthasarathy should go to Colombo tomorrow to seek the necessary clarifications on some of the points raised by the TULF leaders in regard to the nature and scope of the proposed autonomy for the regional councils, besides the procedures for discussing these issues at the all-party conference.

TULF, PM talks

The TULF leaders met Mrs. Gandhi this afternoon, before returning to Madras tonight. A meeting of the seven-member politburo of the TULF has been called for tomorrow morning and its views on the talks the three leaders had in Delhi on the implications of Mr. Jayewardene's 14 points will be communicated to Mr. Parthasarathy in Colombo later in the day so that he could formally communicate them to the Sri Lanka President.

The TULF leaders will be leaving for Colombo the next day, January 4, to be available for further consultations, while Mr. Parthasarathy is engaged in these delicate discussions with Mr. Jayewardene on both procedural and substantive aspects of the efforts under way to settle the Tamil problem.

An official spokesman said today: "The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, spoke to the Sri Lanka President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, over the telephone last night. The President has invited Mr. G. Parthasarathy to visit Colombo for discussions. Mr. Parthasarathy will leave for Colombo tomorrow, January 3, and the TULF leaders will be reaching Colombo the next day, January 4, and will be available for consultations."

It cannot be said at this stage whether these talks in Colombo would lead to a breakthrough so that the TULF leaders could take part in the all-party conference consistent with their stand that Mr. Jayewardene should first reaffirm that he would abide by the understanding reached during his recent visit to Delhi. The TULF leaders will be going to Colombo to be available for consultations with Mr. Parthasarathy and whether they will also meet Mr. Jayewardene before the commencement of the conference on January 10 will depend on the outcome of the Indian special envoy's discussions with him.

According to present expectations, Mr.

Parthasarathy's visit will be a brief one lasting a few days and he is not expected to stay on in Colombo till the commencement of the all-party conference, unless subsequent developments warrant it. The feeling in Delhi is that Mr. Jayewardene may not find it prudent to adopt too rigid a stand publicly whatever his private reservations about the scope of the proposed autonomy for the Tamil people.

Talks break-off unlikely

It is, therefore, considered highly unlikely that he would break off the parleys over the TULF's plea for clarifications and risk a showdown even before the start of the conference. But unless the TULF leaders are reasonably reassured that Mr. Jayewardene would honour the commitments already made by him, it would be difficult for them to convince the hardliners in their own party that the proposed regional autonomy would be adequate enough to enable them to live with dignity and security in a united Sri Lankan State.

The Prime Minister is leaving for Ranchi tomorrow to open the Science Congress and she would be back in Delhi after visiting Patna only on Wednesday night. But she will be keeping in touch with the progress of the talks in Colombo and, if need be, speak to Mr. Jayewardene again.

Ethnic proportion in jobs

COLOMBO, Jan. 2.

Apparently with the roundtable conference on the ethnic problem in view, the Sri Lanka Government today published an interim report by an official committee revising the ethnic proportion of the various communities in public service and university admissions.

The report would be "useful for the amity meeting", commented the Government-controlled *Daily News*.

The newspaper also reported that a ruling United National Party Muslim MP would be invited to the amity talks when the roundtable took up the question of a new regional council set-up as an alternative to the Tamil demand for a separate Eelam.

Five UNP Muslim MPs from the Eastern Province had a meeting with Mr. Jayewardene and are believed to have restated their opposition to the TULF call for the merger of Northern and Eastern Tamil areas into a single region.

PTI REPORTS PAKISTAN RECEIVING CHINESE AIRCRAFT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Dec 83 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 29.—The strength of the Pakistani Air Force has been reinforced in the past 18 months, with further induction of Chinese A-5 and F-6 aircraft, according to informed sources, reports PTI.

The sources said the latest Pakistani Air Force acquisitions included 52 A-5 twin-engined fighter bombers derived from their Soviet counterpart—MIG 19. The single-seater aircraft can attain a maximum level speed at high altitude of 1.35 Mach or 1,435 kmph. At low altitudes the plane flies at 1,160 kmph.

The A-5's armament includes wing-mounted 30-mm cannon, two seven-round pods of S-5 air-to-surface rockets.

The aircraft without the rockets can carry two 250 kg bombs and in its fuselage bay store four 250 kg bombs. The fighter has a gun camera on its star board.

The fighter aircraft is primarily for air defence but in Pakistan it has been optimized for ground attack, with a combat ranging from 370 to 650 km. Pakistani Air Force, since the 1965 war with India, had been receiving Chinese aircraft. The first lot to be delivered was of 65 F-6 aircraft. They belong to the MIG 19 family. Pakistan has now 200 such aircraft. The Pakistani Air Force has also got 32 Mirage 5 fighter aircraft.

Pakistan has this year added to its strength about 32 trainer aircraft named Mushshak. These aircraft, costing Rs 1.6 million each, have been built at the factory set up with Chinese help at a capital cost of \$30 million at

the Pakistan aeronautical complex at Kamra, 75 km from Islamabad. These aircraft can be fitted with light armaments for use in close support role.

PAK ORDER

While China has almost completed the Pakistani order for 60 A-5 aircraft the USA stepping up its supply of F-16 fighters.

Pakistan has already converted one of its fighter/ground attack squadrons to F-16s with the deployment of four operational and two twin-seater trainer aircraft.

Pakistan has on order 40 F-16s and the deliveries of this versatile tactical aircraft with very sophisticated electronic warfare systems are expected to be completed in 1984.

The PAF has also on order four 'E-2C' Hawkeye radar surveillance aircraft from the USA. These can be based on land and on aircraft carriers.

The USA has also cleared for sale four 'CV-1' Mohawk battlefield reconnaissance aircraft fitted with side-looking airborne radar systems with infra-red sensors. These have the advantage of take-off and landing capability from any terrain. The type of Mohawks to be supplied to the PAF has not yet been revealed. The latest Mohawks are said to be equipped with electronic countermeasure systems too.

CSO: 4600/1426

PAPER REPORTS 'CLOUDY' MEDIUM-TERM ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 31 Dec 83 p 16

[Text] NEW DELHI, Dec. 30--Despite recent oil finds, India will face a serious power constraint in the medium term. The growth of both agricultural and industrial production will continue to be inhibited by this factor. Altogether, the short-term economic outlook is bright but the medium-term is cloudy (partly reported yesterday).

The extension of irrigation works averaging more than two million hectares a year is beginning to mitigate some of the ravages of monsoon failure. Although the 1982 drought was as severe as that of 1979, the decline in food-grain output was only about 5% in 1982 compared to 17% in 1979.

This year (1983-84), while the south-west monsoon was delayed, overall rainfall was normal or excessive. Thus the kharif production may reach a record level of 83 million tons representing a 19% increase over last year. Rice output will constitute the majority (53 million tons) of the total.

Foodgrain

It is, therefore, quite possible that India will reach the annual target of 142 million tons of foodgrain which would represent a 7% increase over the last good year, 1981-82. This 7% increase in two years is quite respectable given a population growth of approximately 4.2% over roughly the same period. Previously there had been speculation that agricultural production had reached a plateau at 132 million tons. The 1983-84 results may indicate that India has broken through this plateau.

Output of other non-food crops such as cotton, oilseeds and jute is also expected to increase significantly. Thus, the agricultural growth rate for 1983-84 could reach 9% in contrast to the 5% decrease in 1982-83.

Despite the drought, foodgrain stocks on October 1 were maintained at 14 million tons, close to the overall target of 15-20 million tons and an increase of 2 million tons over last year. Owing to higher prices on the open market, withdrawals from the public distribution system increased considerably from previous years to a projected aggregate of 16 million tons.

Nevertheless, the Government was able to maintain stocks through the successful procurement of more than 8.2 million tons of winter wheat in 1983 and the import for the third consecutive year of 2.5 million tons of foodgrain. Given the wide fluctuation in the production of foodgrain and the need to contain inflationary pressures, wheat imports are likely to continue for the next few years.

Industry

The improved outlook for the agricultural economy has not been reflected in the industrial sector whose output is expected to remain sluggish. The hope for industrial "take-off" based upon a 9% growth rate in 1981-82 did not materialize and the comparable rate for 1982-83 was 3.8%. Industrial growth is currently running at about 3.5% and is not projected to go beyond 4-5% this year.

A number of factors have contributed to the continuation of industrial sluggishness from 1982-83 into the current financial year. On the demand side, there will be, of course, a lag period before the increased demand generated by agricultural recovery is able to mop up accumulated inventories.

But there have been very real supply problems as well. One of the most universal has been severe power shortages experienced through much of the country because of the monsoon failures and generalized under-utilization of capacity. In addition, extensive labour unrest, especially in the Bombay textile mills, has considerably reduced production. Despite these explanations, policy makers are still puzzled by the extent of the sluggishness and there has been speculation that the problem is structural as well as cyclical.

Two major areas reflect this industrial sluggishness: the decrease in freight traffic carried by Indian Railways and the poor performance of the public sector corporations. Because of the shortfall in the power and steel sectors which provide much of the bulk market for the Railways, the Government has been forced to revise its target for freight traffic downward from 287 million tons to 257 million tons in 1984-85. In the first half of this year, freight carried was one million ton less than during the corresponding period last year and 6 million tons below target.

In specific terms, industries showing a decline in production during April-September 1983 included: sugar (16%), saleable steel (17%), jute textiles (8%), aluminium (11%), caustic soda (3%) and phosphatic fertilizers (7%). During the same period production increases were recorded by cement (8%), coal (2%), soda ash (35%) and cotton yarn (12%).

Power

The lack of adequate reliable power is a major constraint on development in both the agricultural and industrial sectors. Demand is likely to exceed supply significantly resulting in power shortages of 8-10% into the foreseeable future. Although the agricultural sector receives priority over industry in the allocation of power (a bone of contention for industry) even this sector experiences serious shortages.

During the first three years of the Sixth Plan, India increased its generating capacity by 25% from 28,490 MW to 35,548 MW. This increase of 7,058 MW represented, however, only 75% of the target. The target for 1983-84 of 4,157 MW representing a 26% increase over last year is also unlikely to be reached.

The major factors contributing to these shortages revolve around management and maintenance issues. They include delays in the supply of plant and equipment, inadequate provision for down time to effect repairs, cost escalations and the incapacity of States to provide adequate funds. Despite continually growing demand which should allow for high rates of capacity utilization (as evidenced by utilization rates of 85-90% in the few private sector plants), the vast majority of the industry in the public sector records low rates in the range of 40-50%.

Petroleum

After the second oil crisis and as a part of the IMF adjustment strategy, India has made impressive progress in producing its own petroleum. Production more than doubled to 21.06 million tons. The import versus domestic production ratio has roughly shifted from 60/40 to 40/60, and if, as expected, the Sixth Plan target of 27.52 million tons is reached in 1984-85, import dependency could go as low as 37%. Total expenditure on this sector has already exceeded the entire Sixth Plan allocation of almost Rs 700 crores and will go up higher.

The expansion of this sector is vitally important for India's overall development and the balance of payments stability. It remains to be seen, how much more crude can be found and economically exploited. Most of the resources to date have been found in the Bombay High region and it is uncertain how much more will be discovered. The development of the Krishna-Godavari findings on the East Coast are behind schedule. Thus, despite marked progress and high expenditures, it is difficult to project the future development of this sector.

Price Rise

Significant price rises and growing inflation re-entered the Indian economic scene in January 1983 after a period of relative price stability in 1982-83 when the Wholesale Index rose by only 2.5% in contrast to 9.3% in 1981-82 and 18% in 1980-81. During the first half of this year, the average wholesale price index (1970-71=100) increased by 8.1% compared to 1.5% in the first half of last year. The Consumer Price Index stood at 554 (1960=100) by 13.3% in one year.

Factors spearheading this inflationary spiral include: 1) the poor agricultural crop following the severe drought of 1982; 2) Government deficit financing causing excess liquidity in the economy (the money supply grew by 16% in the last 12 months); and (3) the increase in Government-controlled prices of essential commodities such as foodgrain.

Thus, the annual rate of inflation as of October 29, 1983, was about 9% compared to 3% at the same time last year. The average wholesale price is also likely to increase by about 8-9% in 1983-84 in contrast to the 2.5% registered last year.

COMMERCIAL BORROWINGS DOUBLE IN 1982-83

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 31 Dec 83 p 13

[Text] NEW DELHI, Dec. 30--The Government approved foreign exchange loans from international money markets totalling Rs 2.026 crores in 1982-83. This is not only a record for commercial borrowings abroad but is more than double the Rs 1,204.02 crores in the previous year

The borrowings show increased reliance on the world money markets because of the foreign exchange crunch arising out of the large balance of payments gap of more than Rs 3,000 crores a year.

Commercial borrowings started in a modest way in 1980-81, when Rs 1,037.66 crores were approved.

The loans are expensive since they carry interest rates marginally higher than the London interbank offered rate--which varies from 16% to 18% a year. The rate given to India is better than to other developing countries because of the country's good record in repayment and its low level of non-concessional borrowings.

It is clear now, however, that the limit set for commercial borrowings in the Sixth Plan of Rs 5,087 crores will be exceeded since this figure has almost been reached in the first three years. If the 1982-83 figure is an indication, the total for the Sixth Plan will exceed Rs 7,000 crores.

Aid

The increased borrowings reflect the deterioration in the international aid climate, especially concessional aid of the kind given by multilateral institutions like the international Development Association. The lending capabilities of these institutions are expected to fall sharply after 1984.

The policy on commercial borrowings abroad is dictated by the needs for foreign exchange for development and modernization of industry but is subject to the paramount need for keeping the country's indebtedness within manageable limits and to maintain the ability to service debts.

Preference is given to loans for projects that have a high rate of return. Care is taken to see that the rate of interest and other terms are reasonable and consistent with the country's international credit standing.

In 1982-83, loans of varying amounts were approved for both public and private sector firms, benefiting 47 companies. In addition, 39 suppliers credit agreements were reached.

CSO: 4600/1415

PAPERS REPORT, COMMENT ON ELECTION OUTCOME

G. K. Reddy Report

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 28.

The CPI candidate, Mr. Pitamber Singh, has defeated the Congress (I) nominee, Dr. Manoj Pandey, son of the former Union Minister, Kedar Pandey, in the Lok Sabha by-election from Bettiah in Bihar by a margin of over 11,000 votes in an 11-cornered contest.

(The late Kedar Pandey won the seat defeating his immediate rival Mr. Fazlur Rahman, a former Union Minister of State in the Janata Government by a 1,10,000 votes in the last elections).

Counting in this constituency was suspended last night in view of the tension generated by the demand of Congress (I) for a recount in three Assembly segments, when the CPI candidate was leading by 5,000 votes.

The result was announced this morning after the counting was resumed amidst elaborate police precautions. The CPI candidate polled 1,12,314 votes against 1,00,667 by the Congress (I) nominee and 59,811 votes by the Lok Dal representative. The remaining eight candidates forfeited their deposits.

Though the CPI victory in Bettiah was not unexpected, the formal announcement of the result this morning dampened to some extent the euphoric atmosphere in Congress (I) circles over the party's success in eight of the 11 Assembly by-elections in five States on the eve of the AICC session in Calcutta. But its defeat in two of the three Parliamentary Seats had been partly offset by the party's success in eight Assembly by-elections, since each Lok Sabha constituency consists of several Assembly segments.

In the Sonapat constituency there are nine Assembly segments, while in Bulandshahr which elected the Janata candidate, Mr. Banarsi Das, a former Chief Minister of the State, and in Bettiah there are five and six Assembly segments. It means that in these three Lok Sabha by-elections spread over 20 Assembly segments, the Congress (I) has accounted for nine, which along with the eight

seats it won in the 11 Assembly elections give the party a notional 17 to 14 margin, which is no indicator of the actual performance in terms of the total percentage of votes polled by it.

Beef tallow issue: But the Congress (I) is heaving a sigh of relief and drawing some comfort from the fact that the beef tallow issue has not played any significant part in these by-elections. On the contrary, a sizable chunk of Hindu votes was cast in favour of the Congress (I) in Bihar, Haryana and Rajasthan, while the party's poor performance in U.P., the heart of what has come to be described as the cow belt, is being attributed to other adverse influences.

Its success in the two Assembly by-elections in the marxist-ruled West Bengal is not being regarded as a freak phenomenon, since the tone for it was set by the party's impressive performance in the local bodies elections earlier this year in the State. But the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and her advisers are not jumping to the conclusion that the turn of the tide in West Bengal has already started and that the Congress (I) can hope to give a still better account of itself in the next parliamentary elections.

Poor account: It is in UP, the Hindi heartland and Mrs. Gandhi's own home State, that the Congress (I) has given a poor account of itself in these by-elections. Apart from its failure to win the Bulandshahr seat which the Janata wrested from the Lok Dal, the Congress (I) lost Fazilnagar and Mathhogaon to the Lok Dal and Philibit to Mrs. Menaka Gandhi's Rashtriya Sanjay Manch, while gaining Siswa from the Congress (S) and retaining Tindwari in the five Assembly by-elections held in the State.

The one who has come out a real cropper from these by-elections is Mr. Charan Singh, whose Lok Dal lost the two Lok Sabha constituencies of Sonapat and Bulandshahr previously held by it. The party also lost the Mandawa Assembly seat in Rajasthan. The National Democratic Alliance of BJP and Lok Dal, however, won Fazilnagar and retained the

Madhogarh seat which was a matter for some little consolation in the face of this great humiliation.

It is only in Fatehabad in Haryana and Benke and Gurus in Bihar that the Congress (I) has given a good account of itself, but in terms of votes polled it scored only marginally in Krishnaganj and Kaliachak in West Bengal and in Mandawa.

Hereditary Pattern Rejected

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, December 26--A SIGNIFICANT feature of the results of the by-elections, three of the Lok Sabha and 11 for state assemblies--held on December 23, is that the voters have by and large rejected the hereditary pattern of succession in politics.

In two Lok Sabha and three assembly constituencies, various political parties had selected their candidates on the hereditary pattern.

For the Bettiah Lok Sabha seat in Bihar, the Congress (I) had fielded Dr. Manoj Kumar Pande, son of the late Mr. Kedar Pande, a former Union minister and a former chief minister of Bihar.

In the Bulandshahr Lok Sabha constituency in U.P., the Congress (I) had nominated Mr. Imtiaz Mohammad Khan, son of the late Mr. Mumtaz Mohammad Khan, a former minister in U.P. The Lok Dal had selected Mr. Sarvar Hassan Khan, nephew and son-in-law of Mr. Mohammad Hassan Khan, whose death had caused the by-election.

In West Bengal, the ruling Left front had chosen Mrs. Ranu Basu, widow of Mr. Pramod Ranjan Basu (CPM), whose death had caused the by-election.

All these candidates have been rejected by the electorate, irrespective of their party affiliations.

For the Fazilnagar assembly seat in U.P., the Congress I had earlier selected the widow of Mr. Khudadin Ansari to succeed her husband whose death had caused the by-election. She filed the nomination papers but withdrew when the Congress (I) decided to field Mr. Raj Bahadur Rao. He was also been defeated.

But in the Siswan assembly constituency in U.P. and the Gurus constituency in Bihar the pattern is different. The candidates here had been chosen more on community affiliations than on political considerations.

In Siswan, Mr. Shivendra Singh, son of the late Mr. Yadavendra Singh, former deputy speaker of the U.P. Vidhan Sabha, has won as Congress (I) nominee. Mr. Yadavendra Singh had won the seat as the Congress (U) nominee in 1980.

Mr. Shivendra Singh was selected as the Congress (I) nominee for the Rajput-dominated Siswan seat to succeed his father whose death had caused the by-election.

In Gurua Mohammad Khan Ali, son of the late Mr. Mohammad Shah Jehan, was fielded as the Congress I() nominee to succeed his father, whose death had caused the by-election.

Both Mr. Shivendra Singh and Mr. Mohammad Khan Ali won by lesser margins than their fathers.

Our Lucknow special correspondent adds: True to style, the opposition fronts on Monday fired their first salvo against the ruling party and demanded the resignation of the U.P. ministry in the wake of its electoral debacle.

Ironically, the first call for the exit of the Sripat Misra government came from the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), a none-too-formidable political outfit which has hardly any reason to be pleased with its performance in the by-elections. It contested two of the five assembly seats and lost both, securing 143 votes in one (Pilibhit) and 2,050 in the other (Fazilnagar).

The "resignation call" was promptly followed up by other political leaders.

In a dramatic move, the DSP president, Mr. R. K Dwivedi, wrote to the national leaders of various political parties and alliances to make a renewed bid to force opposition unity in the light of the 'encouraging' by-election results in Uttar Pradesh

Significantly, the DSP move left the BJP out. Indeed Mr. Dwivedi called upon Mr. Charan Singh to "come out" of his party's alliance with the BJP and join "democratic secular forces" to form a "viable alternative to the Congress (I)."

Our Chandigarh staff correspondent adds: The Haryana Chief Minister, Mr. Bhajan Lal, has expressed his unhappiness over the poor showing of his ministers in certain assembly segments of the Sonapat Lok Sabha constituency which were assigned to them for mobilising support for the party candidate, Mr. Rizk Ram.

He gave vent to his feeling in the course of his conversation with some newsmen on Sunday before leaving Chandigarh for Delhi.

Congress-I View 'Unduly Rosy'

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Dec 83 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

Reports that byelection results have been interpreted by the Congress(I) activists assembled in Calcutta for the party's plenary session as a morale-booster should cause no surprise. For, on a surface view — which is what most political workers in this country are capable of taking —

the ruling party has done not too badly; indeed it has fared reasonably well. After all, it has won eight of the 11 state assembly byelections that were held in five states though this is clouded more than somewhat by its defeat in two of the three parliamentary byelections. Evidently, the Congress(I)'s unduly rosy view of its performance is shared also by the BJP leader, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Or else he would not have declared at his public meeting in Bombay that, encouraged by the outcome of the byelections, mostly in the Hindi heartland, Mrs. Gandhi would opt for an early Lok Sabha poll. This is a rather strange reading of the results. Mrs. Gandhi may or may not have other reasons to hasten the parliamentary elections, due only in January 1985. But, as a careful look at them will clearly show, there is nothing in the current byelection results to goad her to plump for an early election. On the contrary, these results ought to be a source for serious concern to the ruling party. For its gains in Haryana, Rajasthan and even West Bengal can in no way compensate for the serious setbacks it has suffered in the critically important state of U.P. which elects no fewer than 85 of the Lok Sabha's nearly 540 members. And since some of the Congress(I)'s gains have been magnified not merely because of multi-cornered contests but also because of other reasons the blows delivered to the ruling party by the voters are harder than appears to be the case at first sight.

For instance, the Congress(I) candidate, Mr. Rizak Ram's victory in the Sonapat-Lok Sabha constituency over Mr. Devi Lal, the former Lok Dal leader who this time contested on the Janata ticket, has been made much of. But this overlooks the pertinent fact that Mr. Devi Lal's fight was primarily against his former mentor, Mr. Charan Singh. It will be rash therefore to take the verdict in Sonapat as an indicator of the mood of the electorate in Haryana, leave alone the entire Hindi belt the importance of which has become even greater than before thanks to the Congress(I)'s defeat last January in assembly elections in its former southern bastions, Andhra and Karnataka. It is here that the reverses suffered by the ruling party in the key state of U.P. assume overriding significance. Not only did the Congress(I) lose in the Bulandshahr parliamentary constituency to the former U.P. chief minister, Mr. Banarsi Das (Janata), it also lost three of the five assembly byelections, one of these — in Philibit — to the Rashtriya Sanjay Manch which had recently been written off by a lot of people as a non-starter.

Add to this the fact that except in the Bihar chief minister's constituency of Banka and one other, the Congress(I) candidates have won on a minority vote and the true nature of the verdict becomes clear. At the same time, the opposition has nothing to be jubilant about either. In fact, the major opposition parties, principally the Lok Dal-BJP combination, also have fared badly. It could be no mere coincidence that in Bettiah the Congress(I) has been worsted not by the stalwarts of either the BJP-Lok Dal alliance or the Janata-led United Front but by a CPI nominee. For Mr. Charan Singh the byelections can be nothing short of a trauma, the Lok Dal's victory in the Fazilnagar and Madhogarh assembly constituencies in U.P. notwithstanding. Not only was Mr. Devi Lal able to humiliate the Lok Dal chief in Sonapat where the latter's nominee, Mr. Kitab Singh Malik, made a dismal showing but even in Bulandshahr, a

traditional Lok Dal stronghold, the party was relegated to the third position, way behind the Congress(I) which had been defeated there in both 1977 and 1980. Altogether, therefore, the byelections have revealed the most disturbing of all possible trends. The unmistakable erosion of the Congress(I)'s support, particularly in U.P., would by itself not have been so disquieting had there been any signs of consolidation of either of the two principal opposition groupings which have of late been advertising themselves as national alternatives to the Congress(I). Not only are there no such signs, but a drift towards a further fragmentation of the polity appears to have been accelerated. Even the CPM's defeat in West Bengal is a manifestation of this dismal trend. For the ruling CPM there has lost ground to the Congress(I) which has no capacity to govern West Bengal in the foreseeable future. The entire country, and not merely the Congress(I), ought to ponder the situation.

'No Clear Signal'

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Dec 83 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

IF ANY POLITICAL trend can be discerned from the results of the cluster of parliamentary and assembly by-elections in five major States involving some 3.5 million voters, it is that the popular inclination is quite divided and unable to focus on a clear political choice for the immediate future. Nor should this kind of outcome cause any surprise since the recent general experience with the mood and conduct of the electors suggests there is a lot of volatility or changeability in the Indian political situation and it takes barely two to three years for an overwhelming mandate to get eroded significantly if not get dissolved. In the elections held in four Hindi-speaking States, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Haryana, plus West Bengal, the Congress (I) bagged eight of the 11 assembly seats but merely one of the three parliamentary seats under contest. Quite expectedly, the margins involved between the victors and the vanquished in the by-elections were narrower than in the general elections held nearly four years ago. If the hope in the headquarters of the party ruling at the Centre was that the results of the by-elections would provide a clear-cut signal in its favour and an impetus for a confident campaign in a general election called early in 1984, that has not been realised. As for the Opposition parties, some of which have combined their strength to an extent without achieving a high degree of electorally oriented "unity", they seem to have obtained signals that are still vague. Consider the significance of these results. At the parliamentary level, the Lok Dal fared poorly in constituencies which were considered its strongholds — it lost the Bulandshahr seat in Uttar Pradesh (which it won in 1980 by a margin of

over 55,000) to the Janata Party of the rival opposition front, not managing even to place second; and it lost Sonapat in Haryana (won by a margin of over 180,000 in 1980 by Mr. Devi Lal) to the Congress (I) in a relatively close race. The Congress (I), on the other hand, suffered significant reverses at the hands of the Janata in Bulandshahr and the CPI in Bettiah in Bihar. In the assembly contests, the Congress (I) has scored modestly in all the five States (including West Bengal which is ruled by the Left Front headed by the CPI (M)) but the trends do suggest that the going will be troubled for the ruling party in the key States of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in any general election in the near future. Given the situation in the South where the Congress (I) finds its strength greatly diminished over the past few years, and in other places where the field might be more complicated than in 1980, the party ruling at the Centre can hardly afford to be euphoric today.

The larger question, what next politically, must be responded to by all those in the serious running. For those in the opposition, it might appear that an electoral situation where, through whatever device, they can minimise the fragmentation of the usually divided opposition votes is one where they can score crisp gains at the expense of the Congress (I). Actually, this is not as much a tautology as it sounds, since election analysis using some reasonably carefully constructed index of "opposition unity" (that is, avoidance of the dispersal of the anti-Congress (I) votes in a given constituency) has come up with the finding that on the national scale this is a major, if not the key, factor in any distinctive "swing" in recent elections. On the other hand, the Janata experiment at the Centre demonstrated that banding together without a well conceived and sufficiently unified programme and in the face of sharp personal and political-ideological splits within the "alliance" or coalition is not going to provide the kind of answer the Indian people are looking for. The latest by-elections have made the point that on the fronts and issues that matter, the party ruling at the Centre has simply not performed in the way that allows it to take for granted the electorate that voted out the opposition experiment and voted it back in a decisive way. This situation of divided and even contrary political inclinations is not necessarily a bad thing for the political future of the country--one lesson certainly is that stability outside the framework of a worthy set of forward-looking and reasonably coherent policies and a genuinely democratic spirit is not worth the winning.

CSO: 4600/1408

GANDHI ADDRESSES RELIGIOUS GATHERING 18 DEC

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Dec 83 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, December 18--THE Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi today underlined the relevance of the messages of Indian saints through the centuries in the current situation when attempts "are being made to spread divisive feelings in the name of religion."

Inaugurating the fifth centenary celebrations of Sri Chaitanya, renaissance saint of eastern India, Mrs. Gandhi asked the people to beware of such divisive forces that threatened the nation's unity. Earlier she lit a lamp and garlanded a portrait of the saint who had brought about a spiritual resurgence among the masses by his "sankirtans" to Lord Krishna in the 16th century. Dr. Karan Singh, MP and chairman of the samity, presided.

Paying tributes to Chaitanya "Mahaprabhu", the Prime Minister referred to him as a pantheist who perceived God in everything and everyone, including the downtrodden and suffering people.

In every age, she said, there had been such great men who had provided "strength and light" during the dark phases of the country. "They are our roots," she said, adding: "We cannot forget those roots if we are to serve the people."

Matter of Pride

She lamented that while in the modern age science had made tremendous progress fellow-feelings had taken the backseat. She reminded the gathering that such feelings were vital in guiding knowledge acquired by man for the universal good.

In this respect, she said it was a matter of pride that though Indians shared the weaknesses and frailties that marked people of other regions, we also "look toward spirituality and a higher good." This was why the spirit of "bhakti" was still alive in the country.

Making a brief reference to Dr. Karan Singh's earlier remarks in his address of welcome that "the Prime Minister is spending some time here as a devotee," she observed that to her life formed an integrated whole Devotion is not outside that whole. It is part of life and living just as education is.

"With me every moment is spent in weighing what is right and what is wrong and acting accordingly," she said while quoting Kabir--"God is neither in the East nor in the West. Shrine is the human heart--search for him there."

Choice of "Guru"

Underlining the need for taking the spirit of bhakti to the people, Mrs. Gandhi appealed to religious leaders to bring home to the masses what progress has been able to achieve.

In this context, she cautioned the people about selecting the right guru--one who could provide the kind of divine inspiration provided by Chaitanya.

The Prime Minister had a dig at some people "who are forever attributing wrong motives to my visits to conferences such as this". Ironically enough, whether she attended such meeting or not, her motives were suspect.

She observed that throughout the nation's history its saints had been people who had not allowed their sufferings to get the better of them. In fact they derived spiritual strength from their sufferings. According to her, very often the saints were wronged but they did not break, "a feature that characterises the lesser mortal."

Among those present at the celebrations were a large number of Vaishnav devotees, including several foreigners. A devotee group from Vrindavan performed a "pravachan sankirtan," glorifying krishna and chaitanya before the saint's portrait on a decorated dais.

Call for Research

Dr. Karan Singh stressed the need for creating an atmosphere of devotion within the country and for research on the lives and works of the saints.

India, he said, had a galaxy of such saints who had been part of the bhakti cult movement from Guru Nanak, Tulsidas and Kabir to Mirabai, Surdas and Ravi Dass. The message of the saints was casteless and went straight to the people.

Dr. Karan Singh likened scientific progress to the mythological "samudramanathan" which amidst its benefits had also brought out the "poison" of threatened destruction of mankind. In devotion lay the panacea to the poison, he felt.

CSO: 4600/1390

GANDHI SPEECH AT 30 DEC CALCUTTA RALLY REPORTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 31 Dec 83 pp 1, 9

[Text] MRS Gandhi told a massive rally at the Brigade Parade Ground in Calcutta on Friday that Marxists were systematically destroying the cultural heritage of Bengal. "India is an ancient country and we have a cultural heritage over a thousand years old. But here in West Bengal its very existence is in peril", she remarked.

She told the vast gathering that keeping their children and the future in mind, they should realize that culture and tradition once lost were lost for ever. There was a time when Bengal led the country. But the Marxist Government had no respect for Bengal's culture and contributions.

Referring to the killings of a large number of her partymen in the State, she said: "I am a mother and can understand the pain and grief of the mothers of the murdered". Her party had not retaliated because it believed in tolerance and non-violence. The Congress might have made mistakes in the past but it had kept the country united.

She said West Bengal had been lagging behind in many sectors but no one could deny the leadership it had provided and the courage shown by its people during the freedom struggle. In fact, she said, her political career had been influenced by the great leaders of Bengal of those days. "They have taught me to be brave".

The Prime Minister said she was not worried over the State overspending the funds provided for non-development schemes or its slow economic progress under the present Government. These could be made up later. "What worries me is the erosion of your cultural heritage".

Need for Discipline

Describing Calcutta as a city of industrial labourers, Mrs Gandhi said both the industry and the agriculture of the country needed to be strengthened. Problems would be created if workers demanded more and more privileges before a firm productive base was established. She stressed the need for discipline.

For over three hours before Mrs Gandhi's arrival, large groups of people marched towards the ground from different directions. Traffic in central Calcutta remained dislocated during that period. Many said they had arrived the previous night and had camped on the ground. Many climbed on to the buses and trucks in which they had come from the districts to listen to the Prime Minister.

Mrs Gandhi said it was not true that she was raising the bogey of war to divert the attention of the people from the internal problems. On the contrary it was the Opposition parties that were trying to divert the people's attention elsewhere as they were unable to suggest any solution to the problems facing the country. She accused the Opposition of trying to weaken the country and destroy its unity on religious, linguistic and other issues. She wondered how the Opposition parties could provide an alternative to the Congress (I). They lacked the guts and the will to solve the country's problems.

Mrs Gandhi said the Congress (I)'s fight was not against any party but against policies and programmes. "We have to fight those who want to weaken the country by inciting regionalism and communalism." She pointed out that people of all religions had fought for Independence and all of them had a right to live peacefully in India.

She said People often wondered why she had lumped together different Opposition parties. The reason was that the Opposition parties, both Left and Right, had joined hands to topple her Government. She made it clear that if the Congress (I) ever went out of power, it would be because of its own internal weakness.

"Has the Opposition any programme of action?", the Prime Minister asked. The powers that did not want a strong and united India helped them: The focus of the State Governments ruled by the Opposition was not on the solution of difficulties. She said the agitation in Punjab had died down. What remained was terrorism.

Water of Ganga

She warned that there was an attempt to destroy the greatness of the country in the name of religion. Without mentioning the Ekatmata Yagna she said she had information that the water of the Ganga had been sold at a high price. "Who knows if it is Ganga water or not? People are being fooled in the name of religion".

The main problem before the country was retention of its unity. Many powers wanted to weaken India. The Western media often attacked Indian values. "They talk of democracy but supply weapons to military juntas".

She said the main enemy of India as well as its neighbours was poverty. It was common to both Pakistan and China and all of them should tackle it together. But, though Pakistan talked about amity it was "false friendship". "Why do these countries get so much of foreign assistance?", she asked. "Has anybody thought it may be used against India? Five times have they attacked us." India wanted friendship but not at the cost of the country.

Mrs Gandhi said the basic principle of the Congress (I) was socialism. The AICC session at Surendranagar had raised the same slogan. If the rich and the poor in the country were divided there would be problems. Poverty had to be eradicated if they wanted unity and progress. That was the economic programme of the Congress (I).

Mrs Gandhi left Calcutta for Delhi after her four-day stay in the city on Friday afternoon by a special IAF plane. She was seen off at the airport by the West Bengal Governor, Mr A. P. Sharma, West Bengal's Law Minister, Syed Mansoor Habibullah; the Union Finance Minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee; Railway Minister, Mr A. B. A. Ghani Khan Choudhury; Mr Asoke Sen, Mr Ajit Panja and Government officials.

CSO: 4600/1415

GANDHI ADDRESSES KERALA PUBLIC MEETING 31 DEC

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Jan 84 pp 1, 7

[Text]

TRIVANDRUM, Dec 31 (PTI) —Prime Minister Indira Gandhi today warned that violent agitations and encouragement to crime and terrorism might open the door for outside interference.

Addressing a huge public meeting to round off her one-day visit to Kerala, she said there were forces outside which did not want India to stand together and be strong.

She appealed to the people to work together to strengthen the country's unity and economic power so that 'we can meet the pressures that are put upon us and we are not diverted from the path of socialism and secularism.'

In the world outside, there were even more serious problems the two greatest being the threat of nuclear war which endangered the very existence of human life, and the growing disparity between the rich and poor nations, Mrs Gandhi said. The growth of science and technology was not being used to create goodwill or serve the poor, but more as an instrument of destruction, she added.

The Prime Minister devoted much of her speech to explain Congress-I policies and also the unhelpful role of the Opposition. She recalled government's efforts to increase production and thus raise the resources to be utilised

for the uplift of the poor. But because of the large size of the country and the fast-growing population, development had not maintained the desired pace. In this connection she referred to the 20-point programme and also stressed the need for improving the lot of women.

She denied a charge by a West Bengal Marxist leader that the Congress-I was reactionary and said a study of the history of modern India would show that the Congress-I was indeed a party of action. It was the Congress which fought for secularism and socialism, adopted a path of planned development, helped the world to form the policy of non-alignment and urged developed countries to work for economic justice and peace.

On the other hand, the Opposition had no action of its own but was only 'reacting to what we do.' The non-Congress-I governments, she charged, were encouraging agitation in some parts, weakening those areas, slowing down economic development and creating social tension.

FAIR TREATMENT CALL

While inaugurating the third Kerala Cooperative Congress Mrs Gandhi said if the cooperative movement was to be really effective and representative, it must give fair treatment and greater justice to all sections of the people.

She said the cooperative movement was one of the best ways of taking democracy to the people. 'Democracy did not mean merely elections. It really meant the people's participation in the country's development. Elections are a small part of that. The rest had to be done through organisations like cooperatives.'

Mrs Gandhi said unfortunately, the cooperative movement was not functioning evenly all over the country. It was found that the stronger groups captured it leaving out the poorer sections.

Kerala Chief Minister K Karunakaran, in his presidential address, requested some action by the Centre to control the activities of private money-lenders who collected money from the common people offering high interest and gave it out as loans at exorbitant rates of interest.

Sivagiri Function

Earlier, while inaugurating the pilgrims' conference held in connection with the silver jubilee celebrations of the pilgrim to Sivagiri the final resting place of Sree Narayanaguru Kerala's social reformer and sage, Mrs Gandhi said for safeguarding the country's unity and integrity not only barriers of caste and religion had to be broken but the gap between the 'haves' and the 'havenots' had to be bridged.

She made it clear that the decision on whether or not the Guru's birthday should be a holiday for Central Government institutions in Kerala had been left to the local Central Government employees' Welfare Coordination Committee.

Before leaving for New Delhi, she met party leaders and dignitaries.

CSO: 4600/1417

GANDHI SPEECH TO INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS REPORTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 Jan 84 pp 1, 7

[Text]

RANCHI, JAN. 3 (UNI, PTI).

PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI TODAY CALLED FOR MOBILISING PEOPLE AGAINST THE "NUCLEAR MENACE" AND SAID SCIENCE MUST BE DEVELOPED FOR THE BETTERMENT OF HUMAN LIFE.

Inaugurating the 71st session of the Indian Science Congress here, Mrs Gandhi said it could be argued that since India had no nuclear weapon, its scientists and political leaders need not be obsessed with the concept of a nuclear war. But scientists too were citizens and they must ensure that their actions strengthened peace.

"Science must be on the side of life, of development and humanity," the Prime Minister said, adding that any major use of nuclear weapons would result in the immediate death of many hundred of millions.

Mrs Gandhi said since the first atom bomb was developed in 1945, the nature of warfare had undergone profound changes.

"Today nuclear weapons are not merely weapons of war, any major use of nuclear weapons will result in the immediate death of many hundred millions and incalculable consequences to life itself through a variety of after-effects, not all of which we can foresee".

Explaining the dreadfulness of a nuclear holocaust, Mrs Gandhi said the use of 300 megatons of nuclear weapons would cause an enormous firestorm, bring darkness over the northern and southern hemispheres and make the earth inhospitable to all known forms of life.

The Prime Minister said there could also be irreversible ecological and genetic changes, whose nature and limits could not be

predicted.

Mrs Gandhi then asked the 2,500 Indian and foreign scientists attending the five-day meet: "should this accumulating knowledge not disturb us? Should we not feel concerned by the pervasiveness of the theory of limited and winnable nuclear wars?"

She said India's nuclear policy, evolved by her father Jawaharlal Nehru and Homi Bhabha, aimed at evolving a self-reliant, home-grown nuclear capability for peaceful development.

The power station at Kalpakkam near Madras, Mrs Gandhi said, stood out as a milestone in self-reliance and proved that Indian science and technology could "undertake the most sophisticated projects".

Mrs Gandhi said the country's first nuclear reactors were built at Tarapur and Kota with foreign assistance. "But after our peaceful nuclear experiment in 1974, the Canadians withdrew their assistance and we had to proceed on our own".

The Prime Minister said for obtaining knowhow in most areas of advanced technology, developing countries had to pay a price "economically and politically".

She added that the nuclear powers were steadily increasing their stockpiles, but were diverting attention to the so-called dangers of horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons.

ASSURANCE

The Prime Minister assured Indian scientists that her Gov.

ernment will try to remove or minimise their frustrations "relating to administrative aspects, emoluments and housing that worry the scientific community."

Mrs Gandhi said she would do this "within the overall resource constraints" adding that scientists should ask themselves "not what the government should do for science, but what they can do for our country and our people."

Referring to the focal theme of the Congress, "quality of science in India", Mrs Gandhi said the quality depends on the atmosphere of openness, recognition of merit, unselfishness and team work."

Earlier, Mrs Gandhi was received at the airport by Bihar Governor, A R Kidwai and Chief Minister, Chandra Shekhar Singh.

The IAF aircraft carrying Mrs Gandhi touched the Ranchi airport at 1100 hours. Organisers of the Congress said the Prime Minister's arrival had been delayed by an hour due to foggy weather.

Mrs Gandhi said science should permeate the whole of national life, all areas of endeavour and all regions. Otherwise, she warned, it would only accentuate disparities within the country.

She said science should be an innovative and liberating force and an ally of social justice. She called upon the scientists to assist her in the development process and to think of today as well as tomorrow.

Rural people, the Prime Minister said, must be shown how to utilise every scrap of likely available resources like plants and minerals waste. Every craft in every region must be upgraded in terms of output per person.

She sought scientists' help in developing renewable sources of energy and conserving non-renewable stores and said increased demands for fuel in the rural areas was one of the biggest challenges.

Mrs Gandhi described 1983 as an eventful year for Indian science, saying the Rohini and INSAT 1B satellites were launched.

ed, the Madras atomic power project was commissioned and the third expedition of Indian scientists landed in Antarctica.

The Prime Minister later told newsmen at the Raj Bhavan here that the Centre was not interested in toppling the Farooq Abdullah ministry in Jammu and Kashmir and imposing the President's rule there but expressed her deep concern over the spread of communal and secessionist activities in the State.

However, Mrs Gandhi did not disclose what action the Centre would take against the Jammu and Kashmir government.

The Prime Minister blamed the opposition parties for not co-operating with the government in fighting the communal and secessionist forces there.

She said no state government should think that it was independent of the country. She described as 'unfortunate' the recent happenings in Jammu and Kashmir, such as the lathi charges on the Congress-I workers and burning of shops of the party supporters.

Admitting that communalism was being spread there, the Prime Minister said it was for the State Government and the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide what action should be taken against such elements.

Regarding Punjab Mrs Gandhi reiterated that some foreign powers were behind the current agitation there and called upon the Congress-I workers and party's Seva Dal volunteers to counter the violence peacefully.

She said the involvement of foreign hands in Punjab was beyond doubt, but she failed to understand as to why such powers were interested in creating chaos in the country.

Inaugurating the adivasi women Seva Dal training camp here the Prime Minister said only a united and strong Congress-I could face this challenge and rescue the people from the designs of the opposition.

PAPERS REPORT CONGRESS-I CALCUTTA CONFERENCE

Gandhi Addresses Subjects Committee

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Dec 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] CALCUTTA, Dec 28--Mrs Indira Gandhi has reaffirmed the Congress faith in socialism providing equality of opportunity to all.

'Democracy cannot exist without socialism,' she observed in her address to the Congress-I Subjects Committee, which opened its deliberations at Surendra Nagar here this morning.

She said that she was not using the term in the sense it was used in the Communist countries or in the West but in a distinctly Indian sense.

'A socialism of our own,' she said, adding that the term in this sense reflected the traditions and the ethos which had developed during India's long struggle for independence. 'That is why we cannot give a cut and dried description of the term, Mrs Gandhi added.

Mrs Gandhi said that the Congress-I was meeting at a time of significance not only to India but to the whole world. It was a time when this threat of war and conflict overshadowed all our problems. The country could ill afford to ignore these dangers and focus its attention on non issues as some parties were doing

She said that even while the country had still to solve the old problems of poverty and economic backwardness, ever new problems were arising out of the very efforts made to overcome these problems. At the same time, wrong influences were creeping in because India was an open society and interferences of all kinds and at all levels were threatening our philosophy, our values and way of life.

The first task before all was preservation of national unity for which communal harmony was a must. Democracy could not exist without socialism and secularism. Therefore, these values needed to be upheld at all costs.

Many opposition parties, she said, were distracting the people's attention from these tasks and attempting to draw away the people from the national

mainstream. 'I do not know whether they were doing it all without knowing what they were doing or knowingly,' she added.

Jibe at Rightists

Mrs Gandhi, for instance, came out strongly against the rightist forces, both indigenous and foreign, for their stand on the question of war and peace to begin with. She said these forces avow that the question is a non-issue; but if there is no peace in India and the world, human progress would become a mockery and the very survival of human being will be at stake. 'And the rightists call it a non-issue', she wondered.

Significantly, Mrs Gandhi did not criticise the Left on this score, though the political resolution adds: 'The failure of the Left parties to understand the perilous international environment and the processes of destabilisation is truly astonishing'. Evidently Mrs Gandhi left out this aspect of the resolution's criticism deliberately, for in recent months even the CPI-M, giving up its earlier Maoist understanding regarding the struggle for peace, has fully plunged in the battle for safeguarding peace, branding US as the 'fountainhead of war'.

Indeed, even as Mrs Gandhi was coming to Calcutta, CPI general-secretary Rajeswara Rao had convened a meeting of the Left democratic parties in Delhi, attended not only by the CPI-M and other known smaller Left formations, but even by parties like the DSP, Janwadi, Congress-J, etc. to jointly broaden and deepen the struggle against the nuclear war. And in the process of these endeavours, coupled with those of the Congress-I and the Prime Minister herself, slowly differentiation is sharpening in the hither to omnibus, phoney unity among all the opposition parties only against Mrs Gandhi.

From another angle also, the Communist parties began to differentiate this concept of phoney opposition unity even before the plenary session began. The CPI and later CPI-M, RSP and Forward Bloc began to debunk the idea of having any political relations with the rightist forces represented by the Lok Dal-BJP alliance. Now, the political resolution of the Congress-I plenary session has also branded the BJP-Lok Dal alliance as 'totally reactionary in its social and political outlook'.

What is important in this context is the fact that Mrs Gandhi in her speech and the political resolution, instead of leaving undefined the nature or character of the reactionary forces went deeper and explained it. The resolution, for instance, underlines the fact that the BJP-Lok Dal alliance 'defends the status quo. It has no policies and programmes for the scheduled castes and tribes, the minorities, the landless agricultural workers the small and marginal farmers, the urban poor and the intelligentsia.' In fact 'its main weapons are to uphold the vested interests', it adds.

Whereas, Mrs Gandhi and the resolution pointed out that the Congress stand for 'sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic.' Indeed Mrs Gandhi in her speech traced how socialist objectives became an integral part of the Congress Party, envisioned by Jawaharlal Nehru, despite the opposition of

leaders like Sardar Patel and others. She said, the resistance towards the implementation of Congress policies, from within the party and outside reactionary forces still continues to be the main hurdle, both for the people and the party.

Mrs Gandhi asked partymen to devote themselves to the task of modernising India while maintaining national unity and not to get isolated from the rest of the world.

Mrs Gandhi said she was sorry to say that there was a growing opinion--and the press was propogating it--that elections were the only important thing in political life. This might be true of other countries, but it had never been true of the Congress and she hoped it would never be in future."

More important than elections were the implementatio of the party's programmes, strengthening of national unity and safeguarding the country's interests. For this sometimes steps had to be taken which might not be popular.

"The Congress has not been, it is not now and, I hope, it will never be an opportunistic party."

Life, Mrs Gandhi said, would be changing because the world was changing. But there were certain basic things like human character, certain values, which helped the people to grow spiritually, morally and intellectually. These values could not be ignored for political or any other advantage.

"Today we are fighting a major battle. It is not battle to win elections. It is a battle for our timeless values and ideals. Much of what is today known as Indian civilization has nothing to do with our civilization...."

She referred to some "old barbaric customs" and social evils like casteism and atrocities on women and said they must be fought and got rid of even though they were centuries old.

She pointed out that politically the party remained where it had always been--wedded to old ideals of democracy, socialism and non-alignment. Democracy meant people's participation in decision making and involvement in all stages of functioning. This was what the Congress-I was trying to do.

Democracy could be sustained only by secularism which meant equal rights and opportunities to all sections of the people irrespective of caste, creed and religion.

Democracy, she said, could not exist without socialism. She was not using the word in the sense it was used in Communist or Western countries. It had to be India's own brand by which its problems could be solved.

"We want a system, a structure which ensures equality to the people, a structure which allows each group to develop its own identity within the larger national identity and national perspective with a feeling of Indianness. This is the definition I can give (of socialism)."

Mrs Gandhi said there were some who talked of separate identity. They had to be persuaded to realise that no small unit could exist unless it belonged to a bigger identity. They should not be taken in by outside propaganda. There were many examples on small units, but they did not enjoy real freedom.

After briefly recalling the history of the Congress and paying tributes to its founding fathers, Mrs Gandhi said they had then a one-point programme and justifiably so. It was the independence of the country. With the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi on the scene, the movement got a new direction. He involved the masses--though the masses were not unaware of it all--and had a deep seated desire to do something. That was how the two big peasant movements of Champaran and Bardoli started.

Today, people compared the Congress with political parties elsewhere. But it had never been like that. It had been more of a movement. And that had been its strength as well as its weakness--weakness because it created dissensions and strength because it brought the involvement of the masses.

The present problems, she said, were more complex because of various developments both in and outside the country and also because of the problems of development itself.

Mrs Gandhi said before independence the party had decided to abolish landlordism. Later, when it decided a socialist approach--it became socialism itself after some time--there was tremendous opposition to it. Her father, Jawaharlal Nehru was deeply committed to these programmes but he was unable to get them implemented through legislation. Even where laws to abolish landlordism were passed, they could not be implemented because of opposition to them. But the party remained deeply committed to them.

Many years ago, said Mrs Gandhi, the Congress decided on land reforms, but could not complete task. What were the Congress workers and Ministers doing in the States? It was no use making general statements unless the programme was implemented in various States. It was no use complaining to her. It was no use asking what was the country giving to the people. What mattered was what each one was giving to the country.

Mrs Gandhi said the country must modernise fast without giving up what was best in its past. If that did not happen there would be greater interference from outside. And this was why the country had to take greater interest in international affairs.

Earlier, Mrs Gandhi hoisted the party flag outside the Netaji Stadium, heralding the start of the proceedings of the 77th plenary session of the party.

Gandhi Speaks to Plenary Session

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Dec 83 pp 1, 9

[Article by Subhash Chakravarti]

[Text]

SURENDRANAGAR,
(Calcutta), December 29.

MRS. Indira Gandhi warned today that the very freedom and integrity of the nation were in double jeopardy—from outside threats and from those in India who were focussing on small parochial and communal issues and diverting attention from larger ones.

In her presidential address to the plenary session of the Congress, she said that in India as in other countries there were groups and individuals who, for comfort, gain or in the name of ideology, were only too ready to leave their thinking to others.

"Their utterances and action give hope and opportunity to outside powers. Destabilisation is an insidious policy to circumscribe or even undermine the freedom of nations to pursue their own economic and political policies. These pressures are not new, but they are constantly being intensified because of our insistence on independence in policy and in action."

Mrs. Gandhi's formal address is closely in line with the dominant theme of the subjects committee discussions — that the threat to unity and security must be accorded the highest priority. She took 75 minutes to read her prepared address which covered major national and international issues.

She began her speech in Bengali, to a thunderous applause, to remind the delegates that the first-ever political session in India (national conference), which culminated in the formation of the Indian National Congress, was held in this city 100 years ago.

Mrs. Gandhi asserted that never again would India allow itself to be subjected to political bondage. If the country slackened its vigilance, then its independence, like that of some other nations, might become a nominal one with crucial decisions being taken elsewhere.

The Congress (I) president warned against forces of communalism and regionalism. She said that, while safeguarding the rights of the minorities, the government did not weaken but strengthened the majority. She regretted that many opposition parties, even some professing secularism, were supporting and giving respectability to communal and regional forces.

This support, she continued, was

also providing cover for the terroristic activities of extremists and the machinations of outsiders. The enormous publicity given abroad to such individuals and happenings and the financial and other support they received should make the foreign inspiration behind some of the group obvious.

Mrs. Gandhi again criticised some national parties for befriending the moving spirits of narrow regionalism. No one could quarrel with some people who wished to limit the ambit of their work to their own state. But if narrow loyalties were pushed to the extent of damaging the national fabric, then the nation must take note and fight the danger.

While conceding the right of the opposition parties to propagate their views, Mrs. Gandhi emphasised their corresponding obligation to allow a duly-elected government to function. Indeed, the government and the opposition must work together on matters which should be above dispute such as national integrity and communal harmony.

She accused some leftist parties of taking contradictory attitudes to her party. Some of them claimed until recently that they supported the foreign policy of the government, though opposing the domestic policies.

She found it strange that the same parties made no secret of their determination to remove the Congress (I) from power.

"Not only is there no hesitation, but there is actual eagerness to ally with groups whom, at other times, they themselves castigated as rightist, reactionary and communal. It does not need much thought to perceive that foreign policy is but a projection and extension of domestic policy. The Janata experience demonstrated that neither a credible foreign policy nor a credible economic and political policy at home can be pursued by a heterogeneous alliance of parties."

Mrs. Gandhi said that nation was in midpassage of national integration. Democracy provided avenues for self-expression and redress of injustice. Those who resorted to extra-constitutional means to remove a democratically-elected government must be dealt with firmly under the normal process of law. There was no escape from this obligation.

Mentioning her party's concern for the scheduled castes and tribes, Mrs. Gandhi pointed out that development itself had resulted in some classes becoming stronger. She thought it ill-behaved people to imitate the ostentatious living styles of affluent societies,

The vast number of urban poor and appointed group in every layer of society felt they were being denied what others enjoyed. These sections formed natural material for lawlessness and anti-social activity. A thorough re-examination of the existing institutions to protect the weaker sections was thus imperative.

Speaking at some length on the fight for justice and a new international economic order, she said that the unequal strength between the developing and the developed was illustrated by the fact that while the exporters of 12 commodities earned 30 billion dollars, those who imported these same commodities and re-exported them after reprocessing earned 200 billion dollars. "We are always reminded of the aid that developing countries receive. The total annual aid stands at 20 billion dollars, while the annual military expenditure is 680 billion dollars."

Mrs. Gandhi reiterated that India would pursue the strategy of consolidating its gains and advancing towards self-reliance. This involved strict financial discipline, the avoidance of unproductive expenditure, proper maintenance of assets created, maximisation of their productivity through better utilisation of capital and relentless fight against black money combined with well-directed work to spread the benefits of economic development to the poorest section.

Maintaining that the achievement of her government during the last three years had been particularly gratifying, she pointed out that foodgrains production would touch the all-time high of 143 million tonnes this year. Coal output, which was only 103.95 million tonnes in 1979-80, rose to 130.6 million tonnes in 1982-83.

In the same period, cement production increased from 17.59 million tonnes to 23.50 million tonnes. Electricity generation registered an increase of 25.7 per cent, from 104.63 billion units in 1979-80 to 131.5 billion units in 1982-83.

Mrs. Gandhi gave a broad hint about the government's future investment policy. In industry, the policy was shaped for increasing productivity, proper maintenance of assets and modernisation. Demonstrable social needs would be the criterion for investments in new projects. The public and private sectors should modernise and upgrade their technologies. The public sector must give the lead in creating new ethos of productivity and accountability.

In a brief reference to the international situation, she said peace depended on continuing the efforts for negotiations with political will to reach agreements. "The theory of balance of terror has brought us to the brink. We have proved our commitment to peace by using nuclear energy solely for development purposes," she said.

PTI adds: Mrs. Gandhi called upon the government and people of Pakistan to give "serious consideration" to India's proposals for peace, friendship and co-operation.

Report on Rajiv Speech

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by Sivadas Banerjee]

[Text] SURENDRANAGAR, December 29--A SCATHING attack on the misdeeds and failures of West Bengal's CPM-led left front government was the highlight of the AICC (I) general secretary, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's 50-minute intervention during the plenary session debate on the political resolution, finalised by the subjects committee yesterday.

In many ways, his speech, which became an occasion for a major projection of his emerging leadership of the party, was more forthright and direct than the one delivered earlier by the party president, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Pointing to the recent developments in Assam, Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab, he said if necessary the existing laws might have to be amended to deal with them.

He stopped short of repeating it in regard to West Bengal, where, he said, it was for the people themselves, and Congressmen in particular, to face up to the situation. Thousands of Congressmen were getting killed at the hands of the Marxists, he said. He had no doubt that the latest by-election results were a current pointer to the popular mood in West Bengal.

His argument was that all these developments weakened the country as a whole and endangered freedom. He drew attention to the developments in neighbouring countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka and said that in all these nations, big forces were involved. Though he did not identify these forces, no one had any doubt about them when in the same context he referred to the arming of Pakistan and the tenuous argument that the newly acquired arms like aircraft, tanks and ships were meant to be used against Afghanistan only.

Today's attendance was a vasy improvement on yesterday's. During the speeches of both Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Gandhi, the session enclosures were almost full. So were the delegates' areas. But about a third of the gallery seats remained empty throughout and there was the usual exodus after the day's two major speeches.

Verbal intervention from the dais was required more than once to call the members back to order or to stop their loitering. At one point, Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi was heard saying over the microphone that this was a plenary session and not a place to loiter about.

One might even say that if yesterday the target of attack was Jammu and Kashmir, today it was West Bengal. And the tone was set by Mrs. Gandhi when, departing from her text, she spoke about states where non-Congress (I) governments were functioning. About West Bengal, she said the people of the state knew what was happening. "You heard something said about it yesterday and you will hear more today in course of the debate".

She regretted that many people did not bother to look at these situations analytically. She had another dig at West Bengal when speaking of work-culture. She said the spirit of harder and longer hours of work should be recaptured for the welfare of the state.

Unlike yesterday, there were numerous adulatory references to Mrs. Gandhi as well as to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi by today's speakers, some of them saying it was now for Mr. Gandhi to provide the leadership to the organisation. In this respect, the railway minister, Mr. A. B. A. Ghani Khan Chaudhury, who moved the political resolution, and Mr. Buta Singh, who seconded it, were probably unsurpassed. In fact, the two of them launched the attack on the Marxist government in West Bengal.

In a somewhat emotionally charged voice, Mr. Khan Chaudhury said thousands of Congressmen were getting killed chanting "Bande Mataram". The galleries shouted slogans against Mr. Jyoti Basu's rule.

Speaking first in English and then in Bengali, the railway minister said, "Mrs. Gandhi can be shot dead or thrown into the Indian Ocean, but her philosophy will survive forever".

He ended his speech by appealing to his own partymen to sink their differences, which, in his view, could be traced to an eagerness to 'get something'. Mrs. Gandhi, he added, did not throw out of the party anyone for functionalism, but if they united, they could successfully challenge the Marxists in West Bengal.

Message from Soviets Reported

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Dec 83 p 9

[Article by L. K. Sharma]

[Text] SURENDRANAGAR, December 29--THE Soviet communist party has extended its fully support to India's foreign policy.

The message was conveyed to the Congress plenary session today by a fraternal delegation of the communist party of the Soviet Union which expressed its gratitude for having been invited to the party meet.

The delegation leader, Mr. M. F. Menashev, told the session that his country highly valued the positive course of the foreign policy of India and its government headed by an outstanding political leader, Mrs. Gandhi.

The Soviet people attached great importance to friendship and co-operation with India which served the basic interests of the peoples of the two countries in their struggle against imperialism, and for peace, democracy and economic and social progress. "We hail the increasing role India is playing in international affairs," he added.

Interestingly, the Soviet message applauding India's foreign policy was read out minutes after the presidential address in which Mrs. Gandhi told the leftists of the country that "foreign policy was but a projection and extension of domestic policy."

Mrs. Gandhi said some leftist groups claimed until recently that they supported her government's foreign policy though opposing her domestic policies. She was critical of the leftist groups which eagerly allied with rightists, reactionary and communal groups after having condemned them earlier.

However, it is not the leftist groups but the rightist forces that have borne the brunt of Mrs. Gandhi's attack. There has also been a feeble attempt to enlist the support of "patriotic" forces in the leftist camp.

The Soviet party message said that India's policy was exerting a positive influence on international developments today. One could speak with good reason of the outstanding role played by this great Asian power in the world arena.

"India acts as a major, influential force in the present-day system of international relations. Her anti-imperialist, anti-colonial course, her peace-loving foreign policy contribute to further increasing her role in international affairs, which fully accords with the interests of peace and progress in Asia and throughout the world."

Mr. Menashev said India, as the chairman of the non-aligned movement, had come forward with constructive ideas and initiatives aimed at strengthening peace and disarmament and easing international tensions.

He noted that India had put forward important proposals on the settlement in the Middle East, the Iran-Iraq war, and on holding as early as possible an international conference on the Indian Ocean which was being blocked by all means by imperialist forces.

Bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and India were a model of relations between countries belonging to different social systems. They were based on the strict observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, he said.

Mr. Menashev briefly reviewed the world situation which had worsened as, according to him, the imperial forces were trying to achieve dominance, overlooking the rights and interests of peace-loving states and nations.

These forces, he said, were increasing their military presence thousands of kilometres away from their territories. "This line was being pursued in Central America and in the Middle East. In the Indian Ocean, where a large number of naval bases were located--one of them is Diego Garcia--and in many parts of the world, including those in the immediate neighbourhood of India."

The Soviet delegate described the current situation as exceptionally complicated and dangerous, with the threat of thermonuclear conflict looming large not only over Europe but over the entire world.

The defensive measures taken by the Soviet Union, he said, were intended not only to ensure the security of the U.S.S.R. and of other socialist countries but to meet the vital interests of the peoples of the entire world.

PTI adds: Mr. Abdul Aziz, a fraternal delegate from the National Liberation Front of Algeria, today expressed the hope that India, as the chairman of the non-aligned movement, would provide a new thrust to the struggle for a new world economic order, reduction of world tension and halting of arms race.

Speaking at the 77th plenary session of the Indian National Congress here, he said that India had always championed the just cause of the oppressed people.

He recalled the unstinted support India had given to Algeria in its struggle for liberation and said the support given by leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru was still affectionately recalled by the people of his country. On their behalf, he wished everlasting peace and prosperity to the Indian people.

Rajiv Influence Noted

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Dec 83 p 9

[Text] SURENDRANAGAR, December 29 (PTI)--THE AICC (I) general secretary, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, is believed to have played a major role in framing the three resolutions on political, economic and international situations currently before the 77th plenary session of the Indian National Congress.

Several paragraphs had been added to them at his initiative.

It was at the instance of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi that the need for reorientation of the planning process in order to give it a rural bias was incorporated in the economic resolution, it is learnt.

The shift to the left-of-centre policy and accountability of the public sector, the two other-main planks of the resolution, had also been added at the initiative of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

According to informed sources, paragraphs relating to chalking out a new course for the party and on economic planning had been drafted by Mr. Gandhi himself.

He is also reported to have made a significant contribution to the criticism of the role of the National Democratic Alliance and its policies contained in the political resolution.

The plenary is expected to be followed up by state level conferences of the party. The main objectives of the party, as chalked out at this session, would be explained to workers in these conferences. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi would supervise the implementation of this and other programmes enunciated in the resolutions.

He is reported to have impressed upon the chief ministers and PCC chiefs, who met him individually yesterday, the need for carrying out the programmes vigorously.

Political Resolution Text

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Dec 83 p 5

[Text] Following is the text of the political resolutions:

"One hundred years ago, this day, the first national conference was convened by the Indian Association in Calcutta. This was the forerunner of the foundation of the Indian National Congress. From then on nothing could stop the tide of nationalism that swept the whole country in a movement unparalleled in history. The Congress re-dedicates itself to the noble ideals that inspired our freedom struggle and which continue to animate our crusade for social justice.

Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian National Congress developed as a mass movement, drawing within its fold peasants, workers, professionals, women, youth, students, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, minorities and all other sections of the national community. It knit them together as a fighting force for ending foreign domination and for waging a relentless struggle against social and economic injustice.

The course of our freedom struggle was guided by a galaxy of leaders from diverse social and cultural streams. Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru represented the spirit of India, the synthesis of the old and the new and of spirituality and science. Under them the Congress became the voice of the Indian people. Its basic philosophy of democracy, secularism and socialism was evolved during the course of its struggle against the forces of imperialism and colonialism. A broad humanist outlook based on truth and non-violence and opposed to all notions of dead uniformity became the hallmark of the Congress culture. The Congress has been the living embodiment of the composite culture of India enriched by diverse patterns of thought, feeling and action.

In its tumultuous history, characterised by events that brought our freedom struggle into contact with the forces of national liberation in many other colonial countries, the Congress stood uncompromisingly as a champion of freedom and human rights. Jawaharlal Nehru taught us that the fight for independence was fundamentally a fight against the forces that had created mass poverty, and social and economic inequality. Congress policies and strategies were built and evolved on the basis of close identification with the masses, their struggles, their hopes, and their aspirations.

It is in this background and as a result of untold suffering and sacrifices of the people in every walk of life that India achieved its independence and in its wake was confronted with myraid problems, social, political and economic whose solution became the focal point of the national Government.

After freedom, Congress devoted itself to the stupendous task of national reconstruction and unification. Despite remarkable success in these endeavours the tasks before the nation today are immense. The environment in which these tasks have to be accomplished is one of exceptional difficulty. The greatest danger today is to the unity and integrity of the country. The great mission of unity and integrity, which we have untiringly pursued, requires all

patriotic forces to ponder over the threat to our existence as a nation. The strategy of neo-imperialism is no different from that of the classic imperialism which was defeated by the resurgence of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Neo-imperialism aims to create and reactivate through overt and covert interference from outside divisions in developing societies in order to prevent the consolidation of their national unity. The evidence of these activities is strewn all over the pages of post-Second World War history.

The Congress-I is distressed to note that the opposition parties, particularly of the right do not seem to take seriously the grave dangers posed to India's unity and stability. This is no coincidence--the rightist parties, being unable to relate the internal forces and events to the wider international settings, would not be able to fully defend national interests. Their attitude on this vital issue could only undermine the national vigilance and subserve the forces of neo-imperialism. It is only against the wider international background of escalating tension and of the deliberate strategy of militarisation of Pakistan that the actions of the Opposition parties for exploiting communal and regional forces should be judged. The internal divisions of caste, religion and region are being sharpened by all the Opposition parties while the external forces are simultaneously posing a serious threat to our security.

The Congress-I condemns unequivocally the nefarious actions to disturb communal harmony in the country. It is a matter of grave concern that communalists of every description are trying frantically to inject communal poison into the body politic. Nationalism in India is incomplete without secularism. The strength of Indian nationalism lies in welding together people of a different regions, religions and languages. This precious heritage nurtured and bequeathed to us by our great leaders, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad must be preserved and strengthened at all costs. The Congress-I is determined to carry forward this task with all its might which indeed is the might of the people of India.

The Congress-I notes with concern that the Akali leaders in Punjab, and the parties supporting them, have not unequivocally disowned the campaign of violence and hatred let loose by a small section. The need of the hour in Punjab is to strengthen the traditional bonds of amity and brotherhood. All those who are committed to the values of secularism and national unity must come forward at this hour of trial, even at the risk of their lives, to counter the vicious plot to destroy the very foundations of all that is noble and just in our social and cultural heritage. It is tragic that far from helping in the restoration of sanity, some political parties are doing out of their way to encourage the training of extremists who are active in Punjab. The training camps of Akali extremists held in Jammu and Kashmir show how the duties enjoined by the Constitution of the country have been flouted for narrow political ends.

In Jammu and Kashmir the National Conference is flouting all canons of democratic practice. The elected representatives of the people are not being allowed to carry on their normal political activities. A systematic attempt is

being made in collusion with secessionist and anti-national elements to throttle political dissent through sheer hooliganism and the use of State repressive machinery. Hundreds of the Congress workers are being subjected to humiliation and illegal incarceration. The behaviour of the National Conference in the post-election phase continues to follow the unconstitutional and undemocratic pattern of actions resorted to by that party during the Assembly elections to which the Election Commission has drawn such pointed attention.

Extremists violence has not completely abated in Assam. The attempt on the life of the Chief Minister clearly demonstrates that the main idea of those masterminding the violence is not to seek any solution through dialogues but to plunge the State into disorder. In this situation the duty of every right-minded citizen and of the Government is to maintain law and order and to protect the innocent. The agitationists must see the errors of their ways and eschew the path of violence. The Congress-I and its governments will never yield to violence and coercion. While we are always prepared for a purposeful discussion on problems, solutions cannot be found in the midst of deliberate and unprovoked actions to disturb peace.

Our people are fully aware of the performance of different political parties. The performance of non-Congress governments in different States has disillusioned those who supported the change over to such governments. The catalogue of shortcomings of those non-Congress governments is long and dreary such as deterioration in the law and order situation--conspicuous neglect of priorities and programmes for planned development specially of those designed to improve the conditions of the weakest and the poorest sections of society--imprudent management of finances which has resulted in the curtailment of funds for vitally needed plan schemes--reckless tampering with the autonomy of institutions of higher learning: rapid decline in the standards of administration leading to widespread dissatisfaction among all sections of the population--unwarranted interference with the established local institutions--total concentration on window dressing to the detriment of the essential tasks of governance--and a tragic propensity to provoke, without justification--conflicts with the Centre.

Suffering and hardship for the poor had been the inevitable result. The reasons for this state of affairs are directly attributable to the Opposition parties. Their *raison de etre* seems to be blind hostility to the Congress-I. Such negativism may occasionally lead to electoral gains, but it cannot guarantee performance in the interest of the people. The Congress-I is confident that the people will draw their own lessons from the failure of the Opposition parties to implement even a small fraction of the grandiose promise that they had held out. These parties have no policy framework and lack any vision of India's future.

Other Parties

The BJP-Lok Dal alliance is totally reactionary in its social and political outlook. It defends the status quo. It has no policies and programmes for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the minorities, the landless agricultural worker, the small and marginal farmers, the urban poor and the

intelligentsia. Casteism and communalism are its main weapons to uphold vested interests. These parties pose a threat to our democratic and secular way of life.

The ideological disarray of the United Front should not surprise any one. They resort to political opportunism of the worst kind in search for power. Sheer expediency has led the United Front constituents to support the anti-national forces in Jammu and Kashmir and to maintain a posture of ambivalence in Punjab and Assam. They have not shown any comprehension of the basic character of forces that threaten the unity and integrity of the nation. From such parties, the country cannot expect a responsible and constructive approach to basic national issues.

Some leftist parties have not come to terms with the dynamics of social and political change within the framework of our democratic system. We are committed to bring about social transformation by consent. The process of change is possible only with orderly Government and the willing cooperation of the people. This might take longer time but the results would be enduring. The failure of the Left parties to understand the perilous international environment and the processes of destabilisation is truly astonishing. Their attitude ignores the fact that a strong and united India is essential not only for its own security and progress but also to enable it to play its part in promoting world peace.

It is regrettable that in total disregard of these over-riding considerations, these Left parties should be supporting communal, regional and reactionary forces solely with the purpose of bringing down the Congress-I. They must turn the searchlight inward to focus on the tragic flaw in their reasoning and the glaring contradictions in their policies.

The goal of socialism became part of the Congress creed only after a process of vigorous contestation of ideas and interests. At the Lucknow Congress in 1935 Jawaharlal Nehru declared that socialism was the only way of ending the exploitation and degradation of the masses.

The idea of socialism had to struggle for acceptance because the vested interests were not reconciled to a social system in which their power to exploit the poor would come to an end. Jawaharlal Nehru, however, continued to educate the Congress rank and file and it was only after independence that the Avadi Congress endorsed the goal of a socialistic pattern of society followed by the acceptance of democratic socialism at the Bhubaneswar session of the Congress. Mrs Indira Gandhi carried the struggle for socialism further and gave a new turn to the process of social transformation by initiating a series of historic changes in our social and economic system since 1969. Under her leadership, the concept of socialism was given constitutional status in the Preamble of the Constitution by the 42nd amendment. We have still a long way to go but the direction towards socialism has been firmly set.

From the very beginning the Congress waged an incessant ideological struggle to ensure for all the minorities an honoured and equal place in our national life. This is an article of faith with us and an integral part of our concept

of nation building. India cannot progress without Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and other minority groups participating fully in every aspect of national life and in every region along with the majority community in a spirit of trust and common endeavour.

The Congress-I Government has spared no effort to fight communalism, to ensure safety of minorities and to improve their economic and social conditions. Mrs Gandhi has given comprehensive directions to deal firmly with anti-social elements which incite hatred between the communities. The law enforcing agencies are being reorientated to prevent communal violence and to control it speedily and firmly when it does regrettably occur. All possible steps are being taken to expand educational and employment opportunities for the minorities to equip them to play their due part in the economic life of the country. True to its promise, the Congress-I has given all encouragement to the Urdu language. The Congress-I urges all minorities to beware of self-seeking opportunists who are indulging in false and malicious propaganda against our party. Such elements do not have the welfare of minorities at heart. They are only interested in using the minority groups for serving their narrow political ends.

The Congress-I believes that the educational system needs thorough reform. True education literates the mind from the tyranny of hatred and prejudice. We have consistently urged action to ensure that our text books help children to comprehend India's composite culture, to imbibe the spirit of tolerance and mutual respect, to learn fully about our freedom struggle, to acquire the qualities of discipline, to become conscious of moral values and to be inspired by secularism and communal harmony.

The imperatives of technological change, reconstruction of economy for ending mass poverty synthesis of our ancient history with modern science and the cultivation of values that will foster all round development require a tremendous creative effort to refashion our education.

The Congress-I urges the intelligentsia to play a positive and constructive role in fashioning a new value system. It played an inspiring role in the country's struggle for independence. At this juncture, the intelligentsia should realise the nature of challenges before the nation. Only by strengthening the Congress-I can these challenges be successfully met.

The youth has always been inspired by high ideals. It must be the vanguard in the fight against social evils. It seeks fulfilment in action for great causes. At this time in our history, the great and demanding tasks of social transformation present a challenge to the youth. The ending of social and economic inequality involves hard and dedicated work on numerous fronts.

There are a large number of programmes for the purpose. But the process of development will be vitalised only with the creative participation of the youth. Their skills, their energy, and their spirit of dedication and adventure are needed to transform these programmes into a people's movement. The Congress-I urges them to come forward and experience the exhilaration of building a new society.

The peasants and the agricultural labour have always been the backbone of the Congress-I. Since the days of Champaram and Bardoli the Congress has fought uncompromisingly for their rights. In free India, the Congress-I has constantly and systematically provided legislative, financial and administrative support to increase their incomes and to enlarge opportunities for productive employment.

It calls upon the farmers and agricultural workers to continue to fight under the Congress banner for all-round improvement in their conditions.

The Congress-I remains committed to the protection and advancement of the rights of industrial workers. The party assures the working class that measures for their welfare and for increased security of employment will receive priority. It exhorts the working class to continue to extend its enthusiastic support to the party in building socialism. The future of the working class is inseparably linked with the fight of the Congress-I for social justice.

The Congress-I has always striven for the advancement of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It has enacted a number of laws to protect their rights and to remove the disabilities from which they had suffered for centuries. The Congress-I assures them that it will continue with redoubled vigour its efforts to secure for them social and economic justice.

Congress-I has always exposed the cause of socially and educationally backward classes. The problems of these classes received the earnest attention of the Congress-I. The Congress will continue to help these classes in order to bring in a welfare society based on equality and social justice.

The Congress is aware of the economic hardships of the middle classes and professionals. It will spare no efforts in alleviating these hardships and improving their lot. In the strategy of development fashioned by the Congress-I, there is an important role for these groups to contribute to the progress of the country. The Congress-I seeks their cooperation in playing that due role in national reconstruction.

The Congress-I remembers the glorious role of women in the freedom struggle. It recognises that despite the improvement in women's working conditions and in the opportunities open to them in various walks of life they continue to face serious problems. The inhuman crimes against them are a blot on the fair name of our country.

The Congress-I strongly deplores cruel treatment of women and urges the Government to strictly enforce the new legislative measures which provide for deterrent punishment for crimes against women and children. It also urges the Government to get effective anti-dowry legislation enacted at the earliest. The party, shall continue to work for eradicated social evils like dowry child marriage, etc. True to Gandhiji's precepts the Congress-I will always be in the forefront of the struggle for an equal and honoured status for women in our society.

In view of the grave dangers confronting the nation, a strong Central Government is essential to meet the threat to the country's unity and integrity. The lesson of history is clear and compelling. India lost its independence because it lacked a strong Centre. Independence movement and the vision of the nation builders has found expression in our Constitution which gives to the Centre prime responsibility for defending the country's freedom and sovereignty and for bringing about vast social and economic changes.

If the Centre is weakened the forces of disunity will become strong. We have a responsibility to the future generations who must live in freedom as we are doing. The Congress-I calls upon the people to reject all theories and doctrines which weaken Central authority. The contention that a strong Centre means weak States is without basis. The Congress has always encouraged the full flowering of regional and local personalities within the larger national identity. The Congress stands for the strengthening of democratic functioning at the State, district, block and village levels.

The Congress-I is conscious of the fact that the challenges ahead require all Congressmen and women to strengthen the organisation so as to make it the most suitable instrument for serving the people. With nearly a century of dedicated work behind us, we are capable of forging new instruments and devising new methods of intensifying our work among the people, we have to carry to every part of this country the message of hope and determination for facing the future.

The nation is proud of the leadership of Indira Gandhi who has developed the ideology of the national movement, creatively to respond to the challenges of peace and development. The urge for national unity and for a social order of human dignity and justice have crystallised under her leadership into concrete programmes of historical significance.

She has infused into the people a new vitality and confidence to face the future. This historical session salutes this indomitable crusader for peace and justice and calls upon all countrymen to rally behind her to build the secular, socialist, democratic republic for which our freedom fighters struggled and suffered.

The Congress will soon be celebrating its centenary. Having accomplished one great historical mission of leading the country to independence, it is engaged in the fulfilment of its other historical mission of eradicating the scourge of poverty from this ancient land. We will not rest content until in the memorable words of Gandhiji, we have wiped "every tear from every eye".

Text of Economic Resolution

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Dec 83 pp 5, 7

[Text]

Following is the text of the resolution on the economic situation:

The 77th session of the Indian National Congress recalls with

pride the epoch-making struggle for freedom launched by this organisation which laid the solid foundations for a sovereign, socialist, secular democratic Re-

public of India. The Congress in the pre-independence era carried on a relentless struggle for socio-political-economic justice to all citizens and for equality of status and opportunity. The party assured the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation. The Indian National Congress envisaged that the distribution of the material resources of the community should subserve the common good and that the operation of the economic system should not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

The Indian National Congress sought to safeguard the interests of the peasants, working class, the weaker sections of the community, particularly the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and fought against all types of social and economic injustice and exploitation. Even during the struggle for freedom the Congress ushered in the concept planned economic development to raise the standard of living of the Indian people. By sheer dedication to the cause of national life and its ethos and values. The Indian National Congress forged a spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities.

After the attainment of independence, the Congress under Jawaharlal Nehru, set into motion a strategy of development which pulled the Indian economy out of the stagnation and backwardness of the colonial era. The fundamental objective of the strategy was the building up of a strong, independent, national economy. To achieve the objective of the upliftment of the vast rural and urban masses the strategy of self reliance both in resource utilization and technological development was adopted.

The Congress, first under Jawaharlal Nehru and then under Indira Gandhi, has steadfastly pursued this strategy. The productive forces in the country were mobilised and the involvement of the people in the planning process became a living reality. As a result, India has emerged as one of the most stable and self-reliant economies in the developing world. This has enabled India to play a leading role in the defence of world peace and in the struggle for a new world economic order based on equality and justice.

The people are well aware of the disastrous consequences of the back-sliding by the Janata Party

Government in the sphere of planning. The country has had to pay a heavy price for the criminal neglect of the nationally accepted policies of self-reliance and technological and scientific development. The assumption of office by the Congress-I Government in 1980 happily brought this chapter to a close.

The Growth process was revived and the economy pulled out of the morass into which it had been so recklessly pushed.

The process of planned development has brought the economy to a stage where the production base has been widened the infrastructure geared to rapid growth and the scientific and technological manpower expanded to impressive proportions. The massive programmes for reducing poverty have generated tremendous enthusiasm both in the rural and the urban areas.

The sixth Plan has made a decisive contribution to the growth process. In the first four years of the plan, the annual average outlay in real terms has been well over Rs 15,000 crores representing an increase of 65 per cent over the fifth Plan. In foodgrains, the country is expected to cross the 148 million tonnes mark in 1983-84. Coal production, from around 100 million tonnes in 1976-77 is expected to reach 140 million tonnes in 1983-84. In 1984-85, 30 million tonnes of oil is expected to be produced. Electricity generation has registered an impressive increase from about 88 billion units in 1976-77 to over 142 billion units in 1983-84. 7184 mw of additional generating capacity was installed in 1977-78.

In the first 4 years of the sixth Plan 11215 mw is expected to be installed, representing an increase of 56 per cent. In December 1979 there were 14,444 commercial bank branches in the rural areas (in June 1983 their number had gone up to 22,629, an increase of 56.7 per cent). The commercial bank credit for agriculture has increased from an outstanding level of Rs 2583 crores in June 1979 to Rs 4588 crores in June 1982, an increase of 77.6 per cent. Cooperative credit during the same period increased from Rs 3441 crores to Rs 4618 crores. The increase here was 34.2 per cent. Fertilizer output which was 2.98 million tonnes in 1979-80 is expected to be more than 67 per cent.

The balance of payment situation has improved substantially over the last year, as a result of which it was possible to reduce the drawal from IMF by 300 crores of rupees.

Trade gap has been reduced considerably. Trade gap in 1982-83 stood at 5,400 crores of rupees against 5,800 crores of rupees in 1981-82.

The revised 20-point programme is changing the very face of rural India. The National Rural Employment Programme and the Integrated Rural Development Programme are placing within the hands of the poorest sections of our society means to improve their living conditions on the basis of assured incomes.

In industry the pace of modernisation has been accelerated and India is entering with confidence new areas of high technology in communications, electronics, space, oceanography and polar exploration.

Socialism is our goal in the economic and social fields. The Congress recalls that it was in 1936 that Jawaharlal Nehru proclaimed that socialism was the only way of ending the grossest forms of social and economic inequality. Since then the Congress-I has steadily advanced towards the realisation of the objective of a socialist society. Under Mrs Indira Gandhi's leadership the Constitution of the republic was amended to give the highest political expression to the national commitment to socialist order. The 77th session of the Congress-I reaffirms its faith in the socialist path and calls upon Government to reflect in the formulation of the seventh Plan the party's priorities for social and economic upliftment of the toiling masses.

The Congress-I reiterates its commitment to the building of a self-reliant economy on the basis of modern science and technology. It is only an independent economy, invulnerable to outside pressures, can safeguard our political independence. Through many ups and downs in our past-independence history, the Congress-I has never lost sight of this fundamental truth. Our patriotic scientists and technologists have responded magnificently to the call of self-reliance. The Congress-I will never slacken its vigilance and determination in this vital area of national endeavour.

The country is now poised for a vigorous growth. The vast reservoir of human skills built over decades and the investments in the development of science and technology provide the country with an opportunity to accelerate the growth process by taking advantage of new technologies and using them for eliminating poverty. The basic framework of development, created by the planning process, has stood the test

of time. It has vast potential, as yet, not fully tapped for a radical transformation of the living conditions of the masses.

The Congress-I believes that we have reached a stage when the planning process should be re-oriented to achieve more effectively the twin objectives of faster growth and social justice. We should build on the phenomenal gains of the six five-year Plans. At the same time a new direction needs to be given to the movement of the national economy by removing the weaknesses that have come to light in the process of implementation and by giving greater emphasis to the objectives of social justice in the forefront of our planning effort. The seventh Plan must accordingly be formulated as a charter of concrete policies and programmes which would make the poor dynamic and would bring them in the mainstream of the national effort for building a new social order based on justice and equality. The strategy to be adopted for this purpose should encompass increase in productivity of small and marginal farmers and a vigorous thrust to the anti-poverty programmes.

For the all round transformation of the rural economy larger financial allocations for agriculture and rural development should be provided. Our impressive achievements in agriculture are at present limited to some well-developed regions and, by and large, to sections of the farming community.

The wheat revolution has to be moved out of its territorial confines and taken into areas where productivity lags well behind yields achieved in the advanced regions.

Productivity of rice, pulses and oilseeds has not increased adequately. A major onslaught on poverty is inconceivable without a massive programme to improve productivity of these items by millions of small and marginal farmers. A bold new programme, similar in scope and design to what was done for wheat, has to be formulated for rice production. The Congress-I stresses that it is not enough merely to plan for larger investments in this area.

As the Prime Minister has indicated, such a programme must expedite substantive land reforms and include better distribution of land, consolidation of holdings, integrate institutional arrangements covering input supplies, credit, water management, extension services and marketing. This programme brooks no delay. Measures should be taken to strengthen khadi, village and cottage industries by upgrading their techniques and improving marketing arrange-

ments.

At the same time a new vitality has to be infused into the whole corpus of programmes that are being implemented to reduce poverty. The new Employment Guarantee Scheme for the landless labour must be vastly expanded. We must ensure guaranteed employment for all rural unemployed. This throws a heavy burden on planning authorities and the administrative machinery.

The employment schemes have to be so designed that they create capital assets and lead to further gains in productivity. The funds allocated should be used to launch a systematic plan for construction of link roads in rural areas so that all-weather communication is available for our villages.

The revised 20-point programme has brought about an awakening in rural areas. The NREP and IRDP are its key components and the time has come to expand these programmes further, to improve their implementation and to involve the community in a much larger measure in the actual working of these programmes. It is, therefore, essential that both political and bureaucratic hindrances to their effective implementation are speedily removed.

The quality of life in rural areas will improve only if electrification, irrigation water supply, housing, roads, primary and adult education, health and family planning programmes are accelerated well above the level of progress achieved so far. Sluggages should not be allowed to deprive the poor of the benefits of planned development.

Adequate arrangement should be made to conserve rain water and to ensure its maximum utilisation by providing sufficient storage facilities such as ponds etc. The Congress-I calls upon the Government to ensure maximum benefit to the people through time-bound programmes.

Along with rural employment programmes, opportunities for employment of the educated youth should be expanded significantly. There is a large scope for self employment in small industry and the service sectors. Imaginative schemes, which integrate training, finance and marketing, should be framed to harness the enormous potential of the educated youth. Our education system should be reorientated to this requirement

and training facilities should be maximised.

The problems of urban development demand urgent attention. A massive programme has to be mounted to provide slum dwellers with essential amenities such as safe drinking water, sanitation, roads, community centres etc. Major efforts are required to execute housing schemes for them. The programmes should be implemented with the active participation of the beneficiaries. Financial provisions need to be increased substantially to tackle the deteriorating urban environment.

The large investments made in the previous plan in infrastructure, basic industry and mining have not yielded the expected returns. Investment policy should therefore focus on maximizing returns from investments already made. Additional resources have to be provided for the maintenance of capital assets created by the hard labour of our workers, scientists and technologists. This must be tackled on a systematic basis in the seventh Plan.

Our objective should be to get more out of what we have done in the past so that future growth is attained in a non-inflationary environment. Further expansion must follow consolidation of the gains from past investments.

The investment policy should encourage modernisation. Technological changes in the recent past have altered the very nature of industrial production. High technology industries such as micro electronics, bio-technology, solar energy, ocean-bed mining, genetic engineering, etc. are going to bring about fundamental changes in the world economy.

India, with its commitment to technological self-reliance and maximum utilisation of modern science and technology for development, cannot afford to ignore these changes. In the whole range of industrial production and infrastructure the new technologies have to be assimilated. Only then will a dynamic and sustained growth be possible.

The Congress-I is convinced that the reorientation of investment priorities in industrial and infrastructure sectors must be attuned to the key objectives of productivity, maintenance and modernisation. In this context the responsibilities of the public sector are enormous.

The Congress-I believes that the public sector is the kingpin of India's agricultural and industrial progress. It has now acquired, in a large measure, the commanding heights of the economy. This commanding position, as the Prime Minister has said, must now be utilized to promote vigorous economic development.

It is clear that with the increasing complexity and sophistication of India's industrial economy, a stage has come to radically overhaul the concepts and practices of public sector management. The country needs a new culture of accountability. Our watchword must be performance.

The new industrial culture in the public sector should also be based on participative management. Workers must feel that they are not mere wage earners but also have a place in the management. Both workers and management must realise that the public sector is a national asset and that it has a great responsibility in maximising production.

The Congress-I is confident that our patriotic working class will respond, as it has always done, to the responsible task of increasing productivity, reduction in costs and technological change with a social awareness it has inherited from the days of the freedom struggle.

The Congress-I reiterates its commitment to curbing monopolies and restrictive trade practices. The Government should vigorously encourage small and medium scale sectors which have demonstrated beyond doubt their growth potential, and which have brought into being a host of new entrepreneurs.

The social contribution of these sectors is immense in terms of employment and of development of backward areas.

Industrialisation should be consciously spread to neglected areas and regions so that entrepreneurial and technical skills permeate every part of our country. Conscious efforts are also required to upgrade technology in rural, small and medium industry. New institutional mechanisms will have to be devised to make this possible.

Finance Minister's Remarks

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 31 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by L. K. Sharma]

[Text]

SURENDRANAGAR,
(Calcutta), December 30.

INDIA will further reduce its requirement of the IMF loan, having already decided earlier to draw Rs. 300 crores less than what it was entitled to as the current instalment.

This "good news" was conveyed by the Union finance minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, to the Congress plenary session today to prove his point that India was coming out of the woods as far as the foreign exchange problem was concerned.

Mr. Mukherjee wound up the debate on the economic resolution with a forceful rebuttal of the criticism of the government's economic policies by the CPM. He contrasted the economic achievements of the Congress government at the Centre with the "dismal record" of the left front

administration in West Bengal.

The finance minister also painted a bright picture of India's economic strength which, he said, had provoked certain countries to thwart India's progress. As India achieved some degree of self-reliance, these countries became fearful of losing the market of 700 million people.

CPM FEARS BASELESS

That was why both in the country and outside, an impression was sought to be created that the situation in India was deteriorating, Mr. Mukherjee said. Adding another dimension to the much-talked-about threat from outside, Mr. Mukherjee said there was no attempt to create panic and that Mrs. Gandhi only wanted the people to realise the dangers facing the country.

Mr. Mukherjee said the CPM fears of India mortgaging its sove-

reignty to the IMF had proved baseless. India went to the IMF building for the loan with its "head erect on its shoulders and it was coming out on its own and not on a stretcher".

The finance minister asserted that it was not the leftist parties but the Congress which had fought the capitalists and monopolists implemented progressive economic policies and programmes such as the nationalisation of banks and redistribution of land.

Later, speaking in Bengali, he warned the people against the left front government's talk of a struggle against the Centre on the false excuse that it was denying the state adequate financial assistance. Another state, Jammu and Kashmir, which received liberal assistance from the Centre, was also complaining without any justification, the minister said.

Reflecting the concern of some of the speakers over the price rise, Mr. Mukherjee assured the delegates that it would be possible to control prices. The economic resolution also urged the government to take steps in this regard.

Referring to the formulation of the seventh plan, the finance minister said that emphasis in the new plan would be on "consolidation".

Progress would be sought to be achieved through improved perfor-

mance and maximum utilisation of the installed capacities, he said.

Rural employment and the maximum utilisation of the installed capacity of the public sector units were among the main objectives of the seventh plan, according to Mr. S. B. Chavan.

Mr. Chavan said it had been calculated that with five per cent more utilisation in the power sector, the country could save as much as Rs. 6,000 crores.

PTI adds: Mr. J. B. Patnaik, Orissa chief minister, said the plenary session would be remembered for giving a clarion call to end rural unemployment.

Resuming the discussion on the economic resolution, he said that an end to rural unemployment would virtually amount to the removal of poverty from the country.

Mr. Patnaik said the Janata party government had favoured unhindered growth of capitalism and virtually abandoned the planning process.

However, under the leadership of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the country's economy had again become stable.

Mr. Shivraj Patil (Maharashtra), Union minister of state for science and technology, enumerated the progress India had made in science and technology.

Gandhi 30 Dec Press Conference

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 31 Dec 83 pp 1, 9

[Article by L. K. Sharma]

[Text]

SURENDRANAGAR

(Calcutta), December 30.

THE Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said today that anti-national elements were being encouraged in Jammu and Kashmir and, the Centre did not rule out steps to counter it.

Even if some step was being contemplated, could it be announced at a press conference, she asked a newsman who wanted to know whether Jammu and Kashmir would be brought under President's rule.

Mrs. Gandhi said what was happening in Jammu and Kashmir was unfortunate. The police had turned partisan and the houses of Congressmen were being burnt. She did not know whether the anti-national elements were being encouraged there deliberately or otherwise.

TOUGH BATTLES

She was addressing a press con-

ference, immediately after the conclusion of the 77th plenary session of the Congress. There were strong indications that the party was preparing for tough battles in the National Conference-ruled Jammu and Kashmir and the left-front-governed West Bengal.

Mrs. Gandhi was asked whether the Centre intended to do anything in the context of the "economic collapse" in West Bengal. Mrs. Gandhi said in a democracy the people would see the situation and take decisions.

In reply to another question, the Prime Minister ruled out mid-term elections and asked whether the opposition leaders had ever said anything that proved to be correct.

When asked which of the two — the BJP or the CPM — was a bigger evil, Mrs. Gandhi said her party was not opposed to other parties, only to their policies. The main target of attack at the Congress session at the initial stage was the rightist parties but the hostile attention later turned towards the leftists.

In reply to another question, she said she was not opposed to all regional parties but if a regional party acted against national interests it was

in a different category.

Mrs. Gandhi said that the Congress session was useful and very well-managed. In her concluding remarks at the plenary, she said the meeting had strengthened the party's resolve to move forward and remove misunderstandings.

TIME-BOUND ACTION

Her call to Congressmen to fight poverty, communalism and anti-national forces was coupled with the presentation of a time-bound action programme which is expected to force the party legislators to establish contact with the masses and report to the party headquarters.

The mass contact programme involving state MLAs and MPs will last three weeks in February. Dates were announced by Mrs. Gandhi and she told the AICC office to hurry up and send the circulars and guidelines.

Under the programme, meetings will be held at all levels and the climax will be a national conference of party MPs and MLAs on February 18 and 19.

Mrs. Gandhi presented the programme with the advice that party-men should shun slogan-mongering and devote their time to work.

All MPs and MLAs, when they visited any area, must inform the party and they must ensure that in all their official functions a local representative of the party was present.

The "action plan", presented with some fanfare by Mrs. Gandhi, is in line with the recent efforts to galvanise the party machinery. The Congress session itself followed the AICC meeting and regional party conferences.

Her emphasis on work and performance is an attempt to change the current ethos in the party which devalued hard and sustained work in constituencies as well as in elected bodies, including state assemblies and parliament.

Mrs. Gandhi also told the party-men to sink their differences and unitedly work for the implementation of the party's programmes.

PTI adds:

At the press conference, in reply to a question about the present legal system in the country, the Prime Minister said there was a lot of lacunae. She was critical of the way a person who had committed four murders and was likely to commit more was released on bail. What prevented the judges from seeing what was happening in the national context, she asked, adding that they lived in ivory towers and they did not look at the problems in the larger perspective.

PUBLIC SECTOR LOSSES

She chided a correspondent for his journal publishing certain reports and said freedom of the press did not mean saying or doing things which

were not in the national interest. She said she was saying something about the Congress but something else was appearing in the paper. "This is obviously anti-national," she said angrily.

Mrs. Gandhi defended the performance of the public sector and said this would have to be looked at in a broader frame. Even if a unit suffered losses, the unit was required as it helped in self-reliance. Nevertheless, the public sector undertakings were gradually reducing the losses and they were making profits.

But, Mrs. Gandhi said, the major problem now was that some of the technology which India had was not as modern as it should be. This was a major problem the country would have to look into.

She also defended the take-over of the sick mills as their closure would have affected the employment of a large number of people. Besides, each state had its own problems so far as sick mills were concerned.

Asked about organisational elections in the Congress, Mrs. Gandhi said it was a continuous process. Elections had already been held in several states and were being held in other states.

"TAGORE LEFT OUT"

About elections to the West Bengal PCC, she said elections would be held in proper time. But she could not say anything on this from the platform of the plenary session. The Congress was split after bank nationalisation in 1969. But the party was heading forward and further accelerating the developmental programmes.

About the performance of the left front ministry in West Bengal, the Prime Minister said it was most unfortunate that the ruling combine here was twisting history in school syllabus. Tagore, who was the creator of the Bengali literary era, had hardly found any place in the text books. Now it was for the people to decide what to do or not to do.

Asked whether she contemplated imposition of President's rule in West Bengal, Mrs. Gandhi said it was for the people to decide and law would take its own course. She said the Congress workers were brutally murdered and the CPM government was denying their involvement. The Centre was having similar problems in Jammu and Kashmir.

Democracy, she said, could exist as democracy if there was a broader outlook whether it was in West Bengal or Jammu and Kashmir.

She said the atmosphere was "not very conducive" to a summit meeting to which she had been invited to participate along with the Soviet and the U.S. presidents to revive detente and halt arms race.

No decision had, however, been taken on the invitation extended to her by the U.N. president, she said.

New Delhi (PTI): The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, returned here tonight after attending the 77th plenary session of the Congress party in Calcutta.

Mrs. Gandhi, who was accompanied, among others, by the Kerala chief minister, Mr. K. Karunakaran, will leave here tomorrow morning for Trivandrum on a day's visit to Kerala.

Paper Interviews Rajiv

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Dec 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] Mr Rajiv Gandhi feels that the 'defence of national unity' and 'fight against forces of imperialism and neocolonialism' are the twin tasks of 'prime importance' which the Congress-I must be geared to undertake effectively in the present day global context.

'One major power is much quicker to intervene and interfere in other countries affairs and this is detrimental to peace and progress on our planet,' he warns.

Mr Gandhi does not use jargons, but he is clear in spelling out what he wants to communicate. 'All progressive forces in the country must work together because therein lies the interest of the country and our people,' he says.

Mr Gandhi expressed these views in a wide ranging discussion with PATRIOT. During a 45-minute meeting, on the eve of the 77th plenary session of the Indian National Congress he surveyed the international scene and discussed national challenges. He spoke of the Congress-I's strength as well as its shortcomings. He covered a wide gamut--from world peace to regionalism, from education to family planning.

Mr Gandhi's maiden speech in the Lok Sabha was devoted to the problems of economic development. 'Many of our ailments can only be cured by accelerated development,' he says. But he is candid enough to acknowledge that 'we are not going to achieve immediately the type of development that we would like.' In the intervening period, according to Mr Gandhi, 'we have to engage in a sort of holding-on operation to keep disruptive and inimical forces at bay.'

As general secretary of the All India Congress Committee-I, Mr Rajiv Gandhi has set for himself the task of rejuvenating the party. Unlike other leaders, he pleads for putting politics in command. 'We have been preoccupied with economic development, which is correct, but I feel we have not concentrated enough on the political aspect.' He visualises a reinvigorated Congress organisation playing, once again, a major role in conducting a countrywide campaign of political education among the masses, particularly the youth.

He puts the concept of a national consensus proposed at the Bombay session of the AICC-I in a balanced perspective and says: 'It does not mean that the Congress-I should give up or retract from its policies and ideals. It also means that other parties need not retract from their ideals and policies. It envisages that all parties, which share a common perspective, should discuss basic issues with a view to evolving a commonality of approach. You maintain your respective positions, but agree on certain basic things for the country.'

Mr Gandhi spoke quietly and confidently. He did not parry any question; did not circumvent ticklish issues. Here are some of the main points:

--Expenditure on armaments has reached mind-boggling levels. This resource must be diverted to improving the lot of humanity.

--In India, we are engaged in making many revolutions at the same time. We are trying to accomplish in a short span what others took centuries to achieve. This is a major challenge.

--Organisational elections are necessary not for refurbishing the image of the Congress-I, but reinvigorating it from within. Some factors outside our control have delayed this process.

--Unlike other political systems, in our country our political philosophy is not inbuilt in our education system. This is where our workers and party should come in.

--There is no dichotomy between rural development and industrial progress. The two are mutually reinforcing.

--Our community-oriented programmes have, by and large, done well. But programmes oriented towards uplift of individuals have suffered due to shortcomings.

--We must make sure that we are not left behind in the latest scientific and technological revolution--the micro-electronic and computer revolution taking place in the world today.

--Give our people a little education, a little incentive and place better methods of production in their hands. Then nothing can hold them back.

The following is the detailed account of the views expressed by Mr Gandhi during the discussion:

Mr Gandhi emphasised that any vision of India must be seen in the global perspective. India has everything going for it to become a very prosperous economy, homogeneous society and a united nation with a feeling of brotherhood and harmony among different sections of its population. But we have to pursue our goals in a given international environment. The world picture is not looking so good. It is not just what is happening, which is bad enough. But what causes concern is change in attitude towards global problems and contentious issues. Till recently, there was always an element of caution in

international responses. This does not seem to be there now. The major powers, specially one major power, is much quicker to intervene and interfere in other countries. This is detrimental to peace and progress on our planet. We feel that much more resources, financial and otherwise, and energy must be diverted--using science--towards improving the lot of humanity.

Every minute millions of dollars are spent on armament, Mr Gandhi said. It is a mind boggling figure. You look at your watch, the dial ticks and millions are gone into armaments. This vast amount must somehow be channelised towards the upliftment of society. There is no doubt that we must concentrate more on the poorer societies. But I feel it is better even if these resources are used for affluent societies than used for war, because use of these resources on armaments poses a danger and a very real danger to human survival.

In this global situation I think our major task is to convert more people to non-alignment and non-violence, Mr Gandhi added. Both these are very positive philosophies and are major contributions of our senior leaders to present-day world. We are a little too close to the event now to be able to evaluate objectively the magnitude of this contribution. But I think in time to come mankind will realise how much these two factors can help and have helped to avert war and skirmishes on this earth,' he said. He pleaded that India must continue to work towards these ends and carry forward the legacy of its leaders.

In the context of intensifying the fight for peace and averting war, Mr Gandhi emphasised the need for relying on the people's strength. 'If we are able to change the mood of the people--it is not just the mood of the leaders is important because with communication expansion and devolution of power down to much lower level all over the world the voice of the people does make a difference--it will have made a difference.

It is necessary to bring home the message of peace to the masses, he added. He advocated the use of all forms of communication for this purpose. For example he pointed out, the film Gandhi had a tremendous impact because nobody--who had not seen Gandhi in action--could envisage that non-violence could be so powerful. 'The impression is that non-violence is a sort of pacifist, defeatist policy, which it is not. It is a very positive aggressive policy, he underlined.

Dealing with internal tasks, Mr Gandhi said 'Our major task is development.' He felt that 'many of our ailments can only be cured by development. It is only when we get people occupied in constructive activities that their minds are absorbed in positive pursuits. Then they are not thinking of conflicts.' So the real answer does lie there.

'Of course we are not going to be able to achieve the type of development that we would like immediately. It is going to take time,' he added. 'In that intervening period,' Mr Gandhi said, 'we have to maintain national unity which is of prime importance today and we have to fight with the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism which are really very visible today.

Putting it briefly, we have two important tasks: Working for development which must be the prime goal and a sort of holding on operations to keep the disruptive forces at bay till you achieve that level of development.'

Discussion with Mr Gandhi on the role of Congress and the challenges facing the Indian polity was stimulating indeed. His replies revealed a remarkable perceptiveness about the interplay of historical forces. We should be clear about what we in India are engaged in, he said. 'I think the best word to use is experiment; because after all what we in the Congress are doing in India is an experiment which has not been done anywhere in the world before. It is in so many ways a unique experiment. If you look at the type of development we are trying to do, if you look at the political process we have adopted and pursued, if you look at the nature of our social programmes, if you look at our policy towards labour and the protection we are committed to give them; and so on; if you look at the total picture you can only describe it as a number of revolutions in which we are engaged at the same time. 'We are trying to do simultaneously what the rest of the world has done over a period of centuries, not just a period of years, and they achieved it while their labour was totally oppressed and working and living in really terrible conditions,' he pointed out. 'I don't think that anywhere in our country our labour is in that condition,' he added. Of course, this creates unique problems for the accomplishment of our revolution because most of the earlier revolutions were based on exploitation. But we are determined to pursue our goals within the framework of values and ideas we cherish. We have got industrial, scientific, technological and cultural revolutions going on at the same time, and all these are aimed at changing a static society. This is [the] most exciting and creative adventure in history.

'And now another turning point has arrived with the microelectronics and computers. In the earlier revolutions whoever got left behind found it extremely difficult to catch up and (since this is another turning point) we must see that we are not left [word illegible]. We have to do [it, he] emphasised.

While doing all at the same time we have also influenced the world opinion. We have emerged as Third World leader, he said.

Mr Gandhi pointed out that while doing all these things we have found there are bound to be shortcomings in certain areas.

Asked to identify major shortcomings, Mr Gandhi said: "If you ask one to identify one major shortcoming, I would say that the Congress has concentrated too much on development and not enough on politics." Elaborating this theme, Mr Gandhi pointed out that "every country needs something to hold its people together. Most countries in the world have something to bind them. It is either religion or language or a homogenous social structure within clearly defined natural borders. The socialist countries have the philosophy of communism which is a very strong binding force. We do not have anything like that. We are divided on the basis of language, we are divided on the basis of religion, we are divided on everything, religion, region, language. You name it and we have got it. So, to hold everybody united, I think, that only force in the country today is the Congress. And to discharge this historic responsibility effectively it has to be political in real sense.

Developing his concept of the political role and philosophy of the Congress, Mr Gandhi paid glowing tributes to Nehru's vision. "I think Panditji's concept of how India should go ahead was very very farsighted and but for his foresight we would have been like any other developing country today. We would have been subservient in some way to one of the major powers. It is because of that foresight and planning that we are today able to be in the position that we are."

"At the same time," he added, "I do feel that keeping his basic ideas and ideals intact we have to re-programme some of periferal paths of that programme to match today's conditions--today's world conditions and conditions within the country, political and economic."

"For example, when Panditji started planning, the level of industrial development was almost zero. Our capability to build our industry was very low. The technical talent available was very limited. Today all that has changed. Today it is a question of keeping those basic ideals intact, and at the same time mobilising all the resources that his work has generated for us."

To mobilise these resources--whether manpower resources, technical resources, industrial or agricultural resources--we must shift our priorities to match that "As I said, I have a strong feeling that we have not concentrated enough on the political aspect. This inhibits us from moving forward on that path creatively."

Another important shortcoming, Mr Gandhi pointed out, lies in the area of education of our youth. We have not done well enough on that front. "I don't want to and I am not competent to comment on the quality of specific educational institutions. But by and large we have not instilled a sense of values in the new generation, values that we nourished during the freedom struggle and for which India is really known throughout the world. That is one major failure"

He was also dissatisfied with the performance in the field of population control. "Development is a two-sided weapon because as you progress your health improves so much. Now our life expectancy has gone up from somewhere 32-33 to little over 56 which is in a way the indicator of all round progress. We have done very well there and that must reflect in the population figures. But we should have realised the implications and worked much harder on this front right from the beginning. It took us many many years before we turned our attention to the population question. So Congressmen really have to go out in these three areas," he said.

Education and political philosophy are really combined in many ways, he said. "If you look at other countries in the world, their basic political philosophy is built into the education system. We have not done likewise Now being a secular and totally open society, all types of politics flourishes in our country. I don't think we should build our philosophy into the education system. This is where our workers and our party can come in--by spreading the message and convincing people that this is the best way and, really, the only way for our country.

Mr Gandhi explained in great detail the circumstance which led to frequent postponement of elections in the Congress-I. "We had hoped to complete the organisational elections by now. But unfortunately for various reasons, which were really in many ways out of our control, we could not do so. Two reasons I can identify straight away. These are really important reasons. We amended the Congress Constitution in 1973 and the membership rules were changed slightly. That is posing some problems. Also with two major breaks in the organisation (and one quite recently) there is a problem with membership lists. It is not clear who is a member and who is not a member. Who is a primary member and who is an active member. All that is causing problem in some States."

He pointed out that wherever these problems were not so severe, we have managed to have elections and we have come out stronger. More than that, it (organisational election) has invigorated the organisation and energised the workers. It is not just for public image that we want to have elections, it is for internal revitalisation that we want to have them."

Now, of course it is getting very close to the general elections, he pointed out. "We have got only a year left and it might not be possible to complete all of them." However "we might be able to do in one or two more States where, as we solve the problems, we go ahead. In some States like Maharashtra we have got no membership lists at all. We are building up from the scratch again. If we build too fast then we get long lists of bogus members and then the elections really become meaningless and it really demoralises more than revitalises. We would like to avoid that."

Mr Gandhi discussed with some animation the call for a national consensus which was given at the Bombay session of the AICC-I. "Our concept of a national consensus should not make people feel that it means cutting into or going back from Congress policies. It should not also mean that any other party is required to go back from its policy. It means that all parties which basically have the interest of the country at their heart should agree to discuss certain basic issues, at that level, because if we are not united on those issues then it damages the country. A consensus does not mean that any political party goes back from its own policies. No. You maintain your position but we must come to a consensus on basic things for the country."

He was optimistic about forging such a consensus "if we get down to it and though there is a lot of hot air blown around, on basic questions I don't think there can be any difference because everybody knows what is right."

Discussing certain aspects of development strategy, Mr Gandhi said there was no dichotomy between industrial progress and rural development. "Even when we do have a programme to put up a steel mill ultimately that is for the rural people because there is nowhere else the steel can really go." There is sometime an attempt to create a dichotomy between rural interests and urban interests. In fact there is none. There is no dichotomy when you look at the basic things. Of course, if you look at production consumer items and the non-essential items then of course you start getting a different picture."

Giving his evaluation of various programmes designed for the poorer and deprived sections, Mr Gandhi said, "You can look at the 20-point programme and the other government programmes as two sets of programmes. On one hand, programmes which are community-oriented, I think by and large we are doing very well there. There are not many complaints in this regard. The second set consists of individual-oriented programme. That is where we are getting complaints. Some of these programmes are just not viable. For example, we give somebody a buffalo (I am taking a rough example and figures which can vary from area to area). If you subtract the best of feed maintenance and the interest a poor villager has to pay along with instalments, is there anything left for him? Is it sufficient to warrant the whole exercise? In some areas, where the output is high, he may earn enough but in some areas there is not enough for him. These programmes really have to be looked at closely.

Mr Gandhi pointed out that it was also difficult for any government machinery to deal with individuals. I think, in many cases it is not a practical and viable exercise. But at the same time we must do it. It is not something that we can stop, because even if we waste some money, some people get benefit. It is like the whole method of scattering seeds in the air.

With the programmes of helping individuals in these rural development programmes, we must concentrate on programmes which make each family unit a viable unit. We have today too many people trying to live off the land cannot support so many. This overburden on fields must be reduced and this surplus manpower can be better employed elsewhere. I don't mean in towns and industrial areas, but in the rural areas itself in industries and other vocation that is an area we should concentrate a little more, he added.

We also have to concentrate on improving our food output. We have got a very good patch in Haryana, Punjab, western U.P., the Andhra coastal belt. Another very good area is the rest of U.P. and Bihar. It can be a gold mine. It is only a question of better utilisation of our water resources as introduction and popularisation of better methods and our people can do it. We have seen them do it. All that is needed is a little education, a little incentive. I don't think there is anything that can hold our chaps back.

Mr Gandhi expressed the view that "all the progressive forces in the country must work for the country and must work together." However this, according to him, does not mean liquidation of the Congress in any part of the country. I do feel that the Congress is the only really binding and strengthening force in the country today. It must might not be true 15 years from now. Then the basic proposition would change. But today the Congress is really the only force that can hold the country together and for that reason it is essential that the Congress is alive--I don't mean necessarily in government, if it is in government of course we prefer it--but we must not pack up, so to say, in any State and that means we have to fight in our own name (in all States). For example, in Tamilnadu the only force that can counter regionalism is the Congress and the Congress must do it. We can't let things slip and let go by compromise."

Mr Gandhi concluded by recalling that "Well, we are going into 98 years of the Congress, but 100 years since the first All India Convention meet in Calcutta. This is a time to review what we have really achieved, which is substantial, and to see where slippages are, where it needs strengthening and do that."

Gandhi Article Reported

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Dec 83 pp 1, 8

[Text]

CALCUTTA, Dec 27 — Congress-I president Indira Gandhi has given a call for adequate land reforms in the country.

In an article published in the souvenir brought out to mark the 77th plenary session of the Congress, Mrs Gandhi said the sincerity and speed with which land reforms are implemented would materially influence the overall rate of the country's economic growth.

She however, felt that much more than that was at stake. 'What is at stake', she said 'is nothing less than the justice of our political system and its ability to bring about far-reaching social transformation in a humane and peaceful manner'.

Criticising the private sector Mrs Gandhi said 'today it is not the legitimacy of the private sector that is in doubt. What is perhaps questioned is its efficacy. There has been widespread feeling in this country that the private sector enterprise is more private than enterprising. This would not be fair to the more dynamic of the entrepreneurs, but as a description of the larger part of the class it does not seem to be too wide off the mark'.

She said the economy can grow only if the private sector contributes its share of investments. In so far as the private sector investments depend on developments in the public sector, the Government has contributed substantially towards expansion by the larger outlay on the Plan in this year's budget, she added.

"By sitting it out, the industrialists help neither their own cause nor the country's", Mrs Gandhi wrote in the souvenir, Gandhi wrote in the souvenir.

A deterioration in the rate of industrial growth would lead to widespread urban unrest which would not make it easier for the private sector to register uninterrupted progress. Mrs Gandhi cautioned.

Similarly, the Prime Minister also warned the well-to-do farmers and landlords not to stand in the way of land reforms. "It

is in the enlightened self-interest of the landlords themselves to support rather than to frustrate this policy", she said.

ALL NOT EQUAL YET

Mrs Gandhi noted that despite all citizens being equal under the Constitution, in reality it was not so. A poor person cannot in practice enjoy the same rights be it in the field of education, nutrition or employment, as a rich man did.

There was bound to be tension in society wherever such inequalities existed. This situation had to be corrected in a peaceful and democratic manner.

"Either we help to give direction to the changes or the changes will come in spite of us and therefore they may come violently and they may cause a great deal of disruption", she warned.

About the goal of socialism, Mrs Gandhi said it would not be brought about by having a uniform pattern or compelling people to do anything. Nor was it intended to take away things from those who had but "we do have rules and regulations to see that those who have do not increase their economic power at the cost of others", she pointed out.

Stressing the importance of scientific and technological development, Mrs Gandhi said "let us not think along the path chartered by others. Rather let us seek new paths, new methods and new uses for new purposes"

ONE WORLD CONCEPT

Mrs Gandhi said she believed ultimately in one world and hoped that a time would come when people while retaining their individualities would no longer consider themselves as separate. "For instance, in every part of India even the most back-

ward people are proud of their culture and customs and yet, it doesn't prevent them from being good Indians. They consider the whole country as their land" she noted.

Writing on "India today and our task", Congress-I general secretary Rajiv Gandhi has urged the Government to enact new laws, to check the kind of terrorist movement which Punjab is witnessing today. He described the terrorists in Punjab as worse than the Red Brigade of Italy and Bader-Meinhoff of West Germany. "We should see to it that our laws leave no loophole or laxity in them. The interest of the nation should be kept in view and above everything else", he said.

STABLE NEIGHBOURS

In an article in the souvenir, External Affairs Minister P V Narasimha Rao has reaffirmed that India wants strong and stable neighbours and has no desire to interfere in their internal affairs. At the same time, the Government had to take note of such developments in its neighbourhood which impinged either on the country's internal situation or external security.

He said the Non-Aligned Movement was assuming an important catalyst character. By refusing bases for locating armaments and generally refraining to co-operate with warlike preparations on their soils, non-aligned countries had succeeded in thinning out the outfits of destruc-

tion. Besides, this has helped in creating a sense of possible ostracism against such relationships and arrangements within their own ranks.

Referring to the distressing events in Sri Lanka in July this year, he said the Government took a stand which was "correct, dignified and practical".

In an article titled 'Economy back on rails', Union Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee has highlighted the need for a 'strong leadership and dedication' to help the nation overcome the "important economic challenges it might have to face in the years to come."

He claims that since the Congress-I Government was returned to power in 1980, the process of economic recovery had been completed and momentum of growth restored.

However, he cautions "our problems are severe" and made much so by a hostile international environment. He says national economy had averaged a five per cent growth in the last three years against a five per cent fall in 1979-80.

In addition, Mr Mukherjee says, the inflation rate was reduced to 18.7 per cent at the end of 1980-81 and 6.2 per cent in 1982-83 "despite one of the worst droughts".

Referring to the price situation, he says the prices of several essential commodities had shown a declining trend in the recent weeks.

MORE MATERIALS RELATED TO CONGRESS-I CONFERENCE

National Democratic Alliance Reacts

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Dec 83 pp 1, 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, Dec. 29--The National Democratic Alliance of the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Lok Dal today delivered a strongly-worded denunciation of the stance taken by Mrs Gandhi in her presidential speech before the Congress (I) plenary session and in the political resolution passed by it, in seeking to blame the Opposition parties, "particularly of the right", of posing a threat to national unity.

The NDA held that the real threat to national unity arose from "a nexus between Mrs Gandhi's dynastic ambitions and the Soviet Union's regional and global strategy", and the Congress-I's efforts to ally itself with the Soviet perception and strategy".

On behalf of the NDA, its chief whip, and a member of the BJP national executive, Mr J. P. Mathur, and Mr Kairaj Mishra, M.P., issued a statement to the Press contending that the Congress-I's stance taken at the Calcutta plenary session indicated that "Mrs Gandhi is again seeking to get the support of the Left parties", as she did before the Emergency.

The statement said that the speeches at the Congress (I) plenary session in Calcutta attacking the nationalist forces should be a warning to all which way the ruling party is going to take the country. The Prime Minister and her partymen have sought to evoke a fear psychology by talking of external dangers, and relating these dangers to internal challenges to the party in power.

"This is a classical Communist technique to characterize all opposition as anti-national. The Congress(I) for the last few years has been steadily projecting itself as the local ally of the Soviet Communist Party and has signed protocols with the Russian and other east European Communist parties. Delegations from these parties were present at the plenary session and were given a special welcome by the Prime Minister. The whole thrust, therefore, is to ally the Congress (I) with the Soviet perception and strategy and thereby justify the further steps the ruling party wants to take to muffle democracy and impose a one-party rule", the statement said.

It pointed out that "Mrs Gandhi's well-known complaint to the Soviet President, Mr Andropov, specially through a CPI leader about the attitude of the CPI and other Left parties assumes a new meaning in this context. The party general secretary's report significantly again goes not only to justify the Emergency, but also to eulogize it.

"It is also worth recalling that the theme before the Emergency was clamped was also the same alleged threat from the Right, in meeting which Mrs Gandhi sought to get the Left parties' support".

The statement said: "The nationalist forces in the country should now take cognizance of the real threat to national unity arising from the nexus between Mrs Gandhi's dynastic ambitions and the Soviet Union's regional and global strategy. While they are conscious of the dangers from an Army-ruled Pakistan armed by the USA, they cannot turn a blind eye

to this new danger.

"The Calcutta resolutions and the stance Mrs Gandhi has taken are clearly aimed at deceiving the public by blowing the Pakistani threat out of all proportion to create a psychological climate for her to deprive our people of their freedom, in which the Russians see an opportunity to possibly repeat another Afghanistan here.

"People should be fully aware of the growing threat to our national unity and democracy from these internal efforts and an external power, and not allow their nefarious designs to succeed".

CPI Leader Criticizes Session

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 Jan 84 p 1

[Text]

CPI general secretary C Rajeswara Rao said on Tuesday that "there is no real contradiction between the home and foreign policies of the Indira Gandhi Government because both are in the class interest of the Indian bourgeoisie as a whole".

Severely criticising the Calcutta session of the Congress-I, Mr Rajeswara Rao told newsmen that the Indian bourgeoisie needed peace for the sake of industrial development and its Government placed the burdens on the people for maintaining their super-profits.

The Government adopts anti-democratic methods to suppress popular movements and to protect the crisis-ridden capitalist system, he added.

However, he made it clear that the foreign policy was also in the interest of the people and so his party broadly supported it.

Mr Rajeswara Rao was commenting on the argument of Mrs Gandhi that 'since the foreign policy is but a projection and extension of the domestic policy' how could the Left parties support the foreign policy, while opposing her domestic policies.

The novel argument advanced by Mrs Gandhi was to defend her anti-people domestic policies, he stressed.

Lashing out at Mrs Gandhi for her speeches at the plenary and the resolutions adopted there

Mr Rao said they were full of 'astounding claims'.

"We did not expect it from the Prime Minister", Mr Rao said referring to her statement that 'only the Congress can safeguard the interests of the minorities, keep the country united and lead the nation on the path of progress'.

The speeches of Mrs Gandhi, Mr Rajiv Gandhi 'who is being groomed to succeed her' and the resolutions 'abound in self-glorification and demagoguery and at the other end have indulged in slanderous attacks against the Left and other secular-democratic parties, the CPI general secretary said.

Sharply attacking the economic resolution, Mr Rao said that it did nothing except indulging in utter demagoguery to defend its pro-monopoly and anti-people policies, which the ruling party has been pursuing under the specious labels of 'new economic policy' since its advent to power in 1980.

The catch phrases of 'garibi hatao', 'growth with social justice', 'public sector occupying the commanding heights', 'land reforms' 'socialism' etc. are once again brought back from the cold-storage as a sort of window-dressing to cover up its retrograde policies in view of the coming Lok Sabha elections, Mr Rao said.

CPI general secretary said the Congress-I had only one-point programme — 'to keep it in power

and help Mr Rajiv Gandhi to succeed (Mrs Gandhi)'.
However, Mr Rao said, "the country is bigger than any party and the Congress-I and its leaders should be sober and seek cooperation of other parties in solving the problems facing the nation".

Mr Rao clarified that normally his party did not comment on such sessions as that of the ruling party but this time they had been forced to do so because of the "tall claims and slanderous attacks on Left and other secular democratic forces".

Restating the party's policy Mr Rao said the CPI would "unreservedly continue" to fight against the reactionary BJP-Lok Dal alliance, as well as against the proved interest, anti-people and anti-democratic internal policies of the Government.

We will strive for a consensus on such questions as unity and security of the country and world peace with all patriotic and peace loving parties, including the Congress-I, he added.

Referring to the charge that the Left parties were uniting with communal and casteist forces, Mr Rao said, "It does not lie in the mouth of the Congress-I to say this when it is they themselves who are uniting with all sorts of disruptive parties in Kerala, Manipur and Tripura".

The charge that the Left parties were joining hands with disruptive forces is "pure nonsense", Mr Rao asserted.

Mr Rao warned the Centre that any attempt to dismiss the Farooq Government in Jammu and Kashmir "is fraught with grave consequences".

The Congress-I was creating anarchy in the State and preparing the ground for the dismissal of the Farooq Government, Mr Rao charged and asked the Centre not to take such a step.

Mr Rao said that since the Indira Gandhi Government was following a double-faced policy, the Left also had to pursue a dual policy towards her Government.

While fighting the retrograde domestic policies, we support the foreign policy of her Government as it also serves the interests of our country and our people, Mr Rao declared.

Effects of Conference Noted

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 5 Jan 84 p 8

[Article by Inder Malhotra]

[Text]

IF there is anything on which there is virtual unanimity in the country today it is that the overblown rhetoric at the Calcutta Congress about a return to the road to socialism must not be taken seriously. On this point even the bitter divide between Mrs. Gandhi's inveterate critics and staunch supporters seem to have been blurred. However, the subject has already been discussed at length and need not be laboured here except to point out that, in spite of its apparent unreality, the tall talk at Calcutta has not been without purpose.

In fact, to a limited extent that purpose has already begun to be served, however slowly and uncertainly. Witness the flurry of activity among the leftists, especially those on the periphery of the CPI, who had been greatly dismayed four months ago by the fiasco of Mrs. Gandhi's famous letters to Mr. Andropov, carried to Moscow by the CPI leader, Mr. Yogendra Sharma, who was both censured and punished by his party for his pains. They continue to have their reservations

about the Prime Minister and her party. But, on balance, they feel that the orientation given by her to it at Calcutta calls for a positive response from the left-wing, if only to "promote" the Congress party's "evolution" in the desired direction.

The CPI's secretary-general, Mr. Rajeswara Rao, has again spoken sharply about Mrs. Gandhi. Even earlier some people had pointed out, on its behalf, that the left had allowed itself to be fooled by her in the past and should not repeat this error now. Nevertheless, stirrings within the CPI and among its sympathisers for once again catching on to Mrs. Gandhi's sari-tail are greater than at any time since 1977.

Indeed, it is possible that these stirrings would have been even stronger had the Congress at Calcutta shown consistency in pursuing its objective of weaning the left parties away from the rest of the opposition whom it denounces for joining hands with all those forces, internal and external, which are out to destabilise

India. But functioning in a complex milieu and under myriad pressures, the ruling party is obviously unable to be consistent.

Tirade Against CPM

Thus it was that the wooing of the left parties at Calcutta was accompanied by a tirade against the CPM, most notably by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the second most important person in the ruling party hierarchy. The top Congress leaders were caught in a contradiction — so characteristic of Indian politics — between the ruling party's countrywide needs and the compulsions of its beleaguered unit in Marxist-ruled West Bengal. The Congress cadres in that state are so embittered against the CPM that they wanted a resolution to be adopted to condemn Mr. Jyoti Basu's ministry as sharply as Dr. Farooq Abdullah's in Jammu and Kashmir was denounced at Bombay. This demand the leadership resisted but it had to go more than half way to assuage the inflamed sentiment of its rank and file in West Bengal.

Similarly, the need to safeguard Mrs. Gandhi's position in the history of the Congress and the country seems to have prevailed over discretion that would have dictated that the almost healed scars of the emergency ought not be scratched at this late stage.

Time was when a sharp attack on the CPM would have gladdened the CPI. For the strategy of isolating the CPM through close cooperation with a left-leaning Congress, headed by Mrs. Gandhi, then formed the bedrock of the CPI's ambition to repeat in New Delhi the pattern in Kerala where Mr. Achutha Menon headed the coalition government. That age of innocence ended formally in 1977 but actually in 1975.

Today the CPI sees no hope for itself except in cooperation with the CPM and it hankers for the day when the two communist parties would reunite. Even those CPI stalwarts who want their party to revert to a policy of full support to Mrs. Gandhi want this done in concert with the CPM, not in opposition to it.

Against this backdrop it is remarkable that Mrs. Gandhi has not only allowed a sharp attack on the CPM in its own citadel but also that she seems to have done so in the hope that she can contain the consequent damage to her strategy of weaning away the left-wing from any attempt to form once again an all-inclusive

front of opposition parties against her.

CPSU Team's Presence

As it happens, the present strategy has been unfolded in Calcutta in the wake of the recent byelections which have underscored the grim implications for the Congress of an electoral understanding between the National Democratic Alliance, consisting of the Lok Dal and the BJP, and the Janata-led United Front with which the two communist parties have been willing to do business, at least so far. But it is equally noteworthy that Mrs. Gandhi has addressed her appeal to the leftists in terms calculated to put them on the defensive about their inadequate response to external and internal dangers to India's independence and unity. For good measure she has also chided the communists of all hues for their failure to recognise the inevitable link between her foreign policies, which they support, and her internal policies, which they do not.

To cap it all, nothing could have been more calculated to put the leftists, especially the CPI leaders and their cohorts, on the spot than the presence at the Calcutta Congress of a fraternal delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which took the podium to declare how greatly the Soviet Union valued the positive course of Mrs. Gandhi's foreign policy.

There were other fraternal delegates at Calcutta and there have been some in the past, especially in the pre-independence era and at the two Congress sessions held during the emergency at Chandigarh and Gauhati. But this was the first time when a CPSU delegation took part in the session of an Indian political party other than the CPI. That Mr. M. P. Nenashev is only an alternate member of the central committee while CPI meetings are usually attended by alternate members of the politburo can be at best only cold comfort to Mr. Rajeswara Rao, the CPI general secretary, and his colleagues.

Of course, there are other countries where the CPSU maintains fraternal relations with communist as well as non-communist parties. For example, when Mr. Mitterrand came to power in France the CPSU sent to the congress of the French Socialist party so senior a member of the politburo as Mr. Ponomarev. Since then the level of representation has declined, but the Soviets con-

tinued to attend President Mitterrand's party congresses.

At Calcutta, Mr. Godement of the French Socialist party was the only western fraternal delegate to be present. Other fraternal delegates, apart from the Russians, were from East Germany, Algeria, Tanzania and Yugoslavia. Earlier, Mr. N. D. Tiwari and Mr. A. K. Antony had represented the Indian National Congress at the congress of the French Communist party. This exchange, too, is the first of its kind though quite clearly the limelight is on the recently forged link between the Congress and the CPSU. The story of how it came to be established is instructive.

Rajiv Gandhi's Role

A month after the luckless Mr. Yogendra Sharma carried the Andropov letter to Moscow to no great avail, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, during a short sojourn in the Soviet Union, made considerably greater impact. He met, among others, Mr. Gromyko who, besides being a veteran foreign minister, is a member of the politburo. A report on the Rajiv visit was made to the politburo, and the Soviet media publicised this fact.

It was during his talks with the Russian leaders that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi suggested the establishment of fraternal relations between the ruling parties in India and the Soviet Union. At that time the Soviets were non-committal. But their eventual acceptance of the proposal seems to be a logical corollary to the way Moscow's policy towards Mrs. Gandhi's government has evolved since then.

Soon after Mr. Yogendra Sharma was taken to task by the CPI, *Pravda* published a lauda-

tory editorial on India under Mrs. Gandhi's leadership. This was an important gesture but nothing compared with the politburo's resolution passed and publicised on December 15 reaffirming Soviet political, economic and defence support to India. The fraternal delegation, led by Mr. Nenashev and including some of Russia's leading experts on this country, left for Calcutta soon afterwards.

How, in the midst of all these interesting and often intriguing developments, the left parties will react remains to be seen. But some signs of the coming events are clear even though, like the prevailing situation, they are contradictory.

For instance, on the one hand neither the CPM nor the CPI is prepared to go along with the NDA's or the Janata's criticism of Mrs. Gandhi's assessment of the dangers to this country or her Pakistan policy. On the other, the CPM has hit back at the Congress in kind. Mr. Jyoti Basu has not only called Mr. Rajiv Gandhi a novice in politics but described Mrs. Gandhi's party as "reactionary", the worst abuse in the Marxist lexicon.

For their part, Mrs. Gandhi and Rajiv have tried to soften their blows on the CPM. In an interview to *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, for instance, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has emphasised that though he has criticised the Marxists for their faults he has never called them anti-national nor compared them to Dr. Farooq Abdullah. The CPI leadership has taken its time to denounce the Calcutta resolutions as "slandorous" of the left parties. But the true state of opinion within the party will be known only after its central executive and the national council thrash out the issue.

Gandhi Advised on Membership

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Dec 83 p 12

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 24.

The confidants of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, are reported to be urging her to make some sort of announcement at the Calcutta session that many former Congressmen who have been waiting to join her party would be admitted soon to strengthen the forces of secularism and nationalism in the face of the growing dangers of communalism and regionalism.

Though she was given similar advice at the time of the recent AICC (I) session in Bombay, Mrs. Gandhi deferred the idea at the

last moment, because she did not want to create the impression that those who opposed her when she was out of power were being brought back against the wishes of her ardent supporters, who stood by her during the Congress (I)'s tribulations.

But the Prime Minister is being persuaded to come forward with the long delayed gesture to broaden her own political base due to the compulsions of the approaching parliamentary elections. A list of names of some important personalities belonging to different States has been drawn up to enable Mrs. Gandhi to make

up her mind in the course of the next few days left for the Calcutta session.

Bangarappa's talks: The Karnataka Kranti Ranga president, Mr. S. Bangarappa, who met Mrs. Gandhi and her son, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, today declined to disclose the purpose of his visit to Delhi, much less the details of his discussions with them. All that he said was that he had been summoned by the Prime Minister for a general discussion.

After meeting some Karnataka leaders and others in Delhi, Mr. Bangarappa left for Bombay this evening on his way back to Bangalore. He denied that he was being invited or was contemplating joining the Congress (I) in the near future.

The Congress (I) leadership in Karnataka is reported to have collected the signatures of several supporters to stake its claim to form a

Government, but apparently it has not been able to muster the requisite number to be able to topple the Hegde Ministry first. Though the party high command in Delhi has been advised not to try to precipitate a crisis by encouraging defections, some of the central leaders seem to be impatient to bring about an early change.

The Prime Minister herself continues to receive conflicting advice from the tacticians and strategists in her entourage. One set of confidants is counselling her to take the plunge and bring back some of her more prestigious former colleagues into the party, while making a determined bid to topple at least a few of the non-Congress (I) Governments in the States before the parliamentary elections. The other group which is more cautious and less insensitive to public opinion would like to see her proceed a little warily.

Comment by Kashmir Leader

Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Jan 84 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Jan. 3.

Reacting angrily to the "tirade" against the Jammu and Kashmir Government by the Congress (I) leaders at the Calcutta session, the State Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, today rejected the charge that he had been hobnobbing with secessionist and anti-national elements and suppressing the nationalist forces.

Addressing a crowded press conference, soon after his arrival here from Jammu, he blamed the Congress (I) for trying to reverse the verdict of the people in the Assembly elec-

tions by taking to the streets. Apart from the situation created by the Congress (I) because of its agitation to get rid of the National Conference Government, there was no law and order

problem — there had been no murders, no shootings, no bank dacoities.

He would welcome, he said, an all-party team of MPs to visit the State and see things for itself. "Kashmir is not burning. It is the same old pleasant place which gave a ray of hope to the greatest Indian of our times. But it is obvious that we are a wronged State. We feel insulted and our patriotic pride is hurt when we are dubbed secessionists or communal. What proof and credentials are required of us to establish our *bona fides*?" he asked. He was encouraged by the fact that no other political party shared the Congress (I) view on the situation in the State.

People voted us: Dealing with questions on the demand for the dismissal of his Government, Dr. Abdullah replied, in a high-pitched tone: "What right do they have to take action against a duly-elected Government? It is the people who voted us and not the Centre. At this rate, they will have to dismiss all the State Governments." Responding to another query,

he said the Karnataka tactics were being employed in his State as well, where "money is flowing like water" to destabilise his Government. Did he see a parallel between the situation now and that in 1953 when his father, Sheikh Abdullah, was removed from office and put in jail? No, replied the Chief Minister, because "unlike my father, I am not confined to the valley, I am going to the rest of the country."

As regards the incident on the occasion of the one-day cricket match between India and the West Indies, he said that in the first place it was not an anti-India demonstration and, secondly, the State Government had made 400 arrests in that connection. He denied that Pakistani flags were hoisted, saying what was considered a Pakistani flag (by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and others) was, in fact, the flag of the Jamaat-e-Islami. "I will resign if you can show me a single Pakistani flag in the valley," he added, rhetorically.

The Chief Minister said he would write to Mrs. Gandhi to seek a meeting with her during his next visit here, on Jan. 10, for Plan discussions. The Chief Minister pinned great hopes on the support of the Opposition parties. Luckily for him, he would have an effective forum soon, the Calcutta conclave of the Opposition parties from Jan. 13 onwards, he said.

Trial of Congress workers: Why were the Congress (I) workers being tried in jail and not in an open court? This step had to be taken in Anantnag, where the Congress (I) demonstrators had broken into the District Magistrate's office and threatened to prevent the police from taking the arrested persons to the court. And this was done, according to him, after securing an order of the High Court. However, the trial was held in the normal way. It was not a summary trial, he said.

The Congress (I), according to him, felt unnerved by the prospects of being out of office for another five and a half years and the present agitation symbolised its impatience. Secondly, the ruling party was perhaps worried that he would be able to influence Muslim voters in the next Lok Sabha elections. "I am not the type who would get scared. They can't brand me secessionist. Each bone of mine would cry 'I am an Indian'. What will they do?

Put me on the gallows?" he said, responding to queries on the Centre's attitude towards him.

The Calcutta plenary, according to him appeared to have become a special session for condemning the Jammu and Kashmir Government. He ridiculed the charge (levelled by Mrs. Gandhi at her press conference in Calcutta) that houses of Congress (I) workers had been burnt down or that the Government's opponents were being denied rations. This, he said, was part of the Goebbelsian tactics employed by the Congress (I). "But Mahatma Gandhi's India is not Hitler's Germany. Political chauvinism and fascist tendencies will never thrive in the land of Buddha, Krishna, Nanak and Chisti", he said.

"The present Congress (I) campaign against my Government does not at all fit in the political system we have adopted. Why should any party having democratic pretensions take to streets to settle differences if there are any? Are not forums provided by our Constitution, like legislatures, sufficient for debating issues? If we have to survive as a democracy I am sure streets can neither be substitutes for constitutional forums nor short cuts to power."

"It will be nightmarish to imagine what happens to the country if the Opposition at the national level adopts similar means, disrespecting people's verdict and bypassing Parliament. But, unfortunately, that is all what is being done in my State. Would such an approach not shake the faith of people in democracy who in our State have tasted free exercise of vote only a second time after 25 years of farce, fraud and shame in the name of elections? Would it not amount to trampling their rights? And if that is allowed, then the peace and tranquillity of a State will be at stake" he said.

Moopanar's criticism: The Congress (I) general secretary Mr. G. K. Moopanar, today criticised the Jammu and Kashmir Government for invoking the anti-secessionist law for the trial of his party workers.

"This law provides for summary trials by special courts. This law also lays onus of proving innocence on the persons who are alleged to be accused of an offence. To prosecute Congress (I) workers who stand for unity and integrity of the country under this law, is unjustified and politically motivated," he said.

RAJIV HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE IN BOMBAY 18 DEC

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] BOMBAY, December 18--MR. Rajiv Gandhi, AICC (I) general secretary, stated today that persons making dubious contributions to the party will be kept away from centres of power.

Replying to a question at a press conference here, Mr. Gandhi said importance will be given only to those who were "actually making positive" contribution to the organisation. He was asked whether he was responsible for easing out men like Dharendra Brahmachari, Sadachari and others from the higher echelons.

Though he did not claim responsibility for these persons falling from grace, he made it amply clear that controversial elements will not be associated with the decision-making process.

Regarding the spy scandal involving the Larkins brothers, Mr. Gandhi said the government must be having reasons for not expelling the U.S. diplomat who was allegedly part of the espionage network but was still in the country.

Toppling Game

In sharp contrast to another AICC (I) general secretary, Mr. C. M. Stephen's justification of toppling efforts in Karnataka, Mr. Gandhi said he was opposed to such games. "If a government fell on its own, it was a different matter," he added.

Mr. Gandhi conceded that finance posed a major problem for the resettlement of slum-dwellers in the metropolis. He had a talk with the Union finance minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, in this regard. The amount required, Rs. 2,500 crores, was too big for the government. Nevertheless, the government was determined to tackle the problem in a concerted manner.

He said for the sake of political convenience, the uneven growth of urban areas was allowed. The education system was also such that it was not possible for persons completing their schooling to stay back in the villages. However, there was a need for bold steps even if it meant losing some votes.

He denied that the resettlement programme was aimed at securing political dividends for the Congress (I). He conceded that there were discrepancies in the programme worked out by Habitat-India. However, he hoped that a viable scheme would be drawn up to reduce the growth of fresh slums and to rehabilitate the slum-dwellers.

In reply to a question about political interference in the functioning of the city police, the municipal corporation, and the collectorate which were headed by men of integrity, Mr. Gandhi said he was opposed to legislators and M.P.s poking their nose. Ministerial interference was unavoidable. But, this should be within the rules, he added.

Mr. Gandhi ridiculed moves for the merger of the BJP and the Lok Dal. He said such mergers had taken place more than once in the past and the results were there for all to see.

Earlier, Mr. Gandhi held separate meetings with BRCC (I) office-bearers, members of the executives of the women, youth, and student fronts of the organisation. He urged them to work unitedly for the party.

YC (I) Dissidence

He told the women members that they should not desist from taking up issues like dowry and rape, even if it resulted in embarrassment to the government. He also deplored violence indulged in by NSUI (I) activists at the BEST office recently.

There were contrary reports about his meeting with the YC (I) office-bearers. According to one section, opponents of the president, Mr. Madhukant Shukla, listed various charges against him. However, others claimed that the dissidents were pulled up by Mr. Gandhi.

The chief minister, Mr. Vasantrao Patil, and his deputy, Mr. Ramrao Adik, joined Mr. Gandhi while he was talking to YC (I) volunteers. Mr. Adik had also a ten-minute discussion in private with Mr. Gandhi.

The BRCC (I) president Mr. Murli Deora, and Dr. Rafiq Zakaria, M.P., were with Mr. Gandhi.

CSO: 4600/1390

REPORTAGE ON BANGALORE AITUC SESSION CONTINUES

20 Dec Closing Session

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 21 Dec 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] BANGALORE, Dec. 20--The 32nd session of the AITUC ended here today with an inspiring call from its newly-elected president Chaturanan Mishra to carry forward the message of unity of working class and their trade unions based on class struggle and anti-imperialism and for preservation of peace on earth.

Mr Mishra, addressing the delegates in its concluding session recalled the glorious past of this oldest national trade union organisation and said the AITUC has succeeded in bringing together many of the trade unions "on the basis of specific programmes in National Campaign Committee".

Referring to the merger proposal made to CITU and other left trade union organisations Mr Mishra said "our proposal for merger with these trade unions is not made out of position of weakness, but today we are strong enough to take such lead to bring about such kind of unity which will at once bring new life in the trade union movement and galvanise the entire working class of our country" into a single force.

Mr Indrajit Gupta who was re-elected general secretary earlier also made similar appeal and asserted that AITUC has emerged from its 32nd session a "much more united and cohesive force. We have demonstrated that this organisation of ours is not only concerned to fight for workers wages, bonus and other economic demands but we are fully aware of our national and international duties". While exhorting delegates not to adopt sectarian attitudes while carrying out task entrusted to them by session, Mr Gupta said "we should adopt flexible attitude towards fraternal organisations so that we are able to bring the entire working class of the country on a united platform".

Dange Hailed

The session later adopted a resolution which placed on record the services rendered to Indian trade union movement and AITUC by its former president, its founder-member and also one of the founders of the communist movement in the country S A Dange. The resolution said "the 32nd session of AITUC places on

record its appreciation of Com S A Dange's long and pioneering services to the Indian trade union movement and AITUC, as well as his contribution to the work of World Federation of Trade Unions. We wish his good health at his advanced age, and many more years of fruitful life.

The session also adopted resolutions against the brutal repression being carried out by racist regime in South Africa and in support of struggle for independence of Namibian people and in support of Korean people in their fight for reunification of their country. The session earlier unanimously adopted reports of six commissions namely on Trade Unions in Struggle for Peace, on Trade Union Unity, on Unorganised Workers, on Industrial Sickness, Lockouts and Closures, Working Women and on Social Security.

Another resolution on nationalisation of textile industry adopted urged the Government to nationalise the entire industry. The resolution said "like all big enterprises textile industry today is running mainly on finances provided by banks and other Government financial agencies but mismanagement is leading to frittering away of the valuable resources provided by these agencies with industry permanently pressing for more assistance and more concessions". It further added that the Government had nationalised 105 mills in 1974 and recently 13 more mills in Bombay.

The session also demanded through a resolution the takeover of iron ore industry and strongly criticised the present drive at "unwarranted high-level mechanisation and automation of mining".

Other resolutions adopted by the session demanded treatment of the railway workers as industrial workers for all purposes including right to collective bargaining and statutory minimum bonus, expedition of the construction and commissioning of the Vijayanagar steel plant in Karnataka, and condemnation of the imposition of IVth Pay Commission on Central Government staff and railway despite their stiff opposition.

New Officials Elected

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 21 Dec 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] SHANTAPAM PAI NAGAR, Dec 20--Veteran Trade Union leader from Bihar, leader of Bihar coal and mica mine workers and vice-president of AITUC Chaturanan Mishra was today elected president of AITUC, the oldest trade union organisation in the country.

Mr Mishra (60) who has been an MLA and leader of the CPI group in Bihar Assembly for many years, replaced octogenarian founder-member Sripad Amrit Dange who had held the post since 1976.

Mr Dange had become controversial during last couple of years after he was removed from the CPI chairmanship. Mishra's name was being mentioned among delegates as a non-controversial man for the post especially as Mr Dange had kept himself away from the conference.

The 323-member AITUC general council re-elected Indrajit Gupta, MP as general-secretary. In its choice of other office-bearers too the general-council preferred to continue most of the leaders in their posts.

Apart from Mr Mishra and Mr Indrajit Gupta, those elected as office-bearers were:

Vice-presidents: N K Krishnan, K G Srivastava, B D Joshi, M S Krishnan, Homi Daji, J Chittaranjan, Mohd Elias, M Kalyanasundaram and Bhagwan Thorat--the last one a new entrant in place of Mr Chaturanan Mishra who belongs to Mr Dange's AICP.

Secretaries: Mrs Parvati Krishnan, T N Sidhanta, Y D Sharma K A Rajan Dr Rajbahadur Goud, A B Bardhan and S K Sanyal. The last two are new secretaries with secretaries strength being raised from five to seven.

Mr Harish Tewari of UP was re-elected the treasurer.

Constitution Amended

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 21 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] SHANTARAM PAI NAGAR, Dec 20--The AITUC constitution was amended today to make provision for making former AITUC presidents full-fledged ex-officio members of both the general council and the working committee of AITUC with full rights.

Among those who would come in this category are Mr S A Dange and Ranen Sen, only two living former AITUC presidents.

Interestingly, Mr Dange's daughter Rosa Deshpande was re-elected as member of working committee.

CSO: 4600/1396

WORKERS TO PARTICIPATE IN PUBLIC UNIT MANAGEMENT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Jan 84 p 5

[Text]

A new comprehensive scheme of workers participation in Central public sector undertakings comes into force from Sunday, reports PTL.

This new year gift to the working class was announced through a notification issued by the Union Labour Ministry in New Delhi on Saturday.

The scheme will be applicable to all Central public sector undertakings except those which are given specific exemption from the operation of the scheme by the administrative Ministry and Department concerned in consultation with the Department of Labour, taking into account the nature of the undertaking, and the products it is manufacturing.

Any undertaking of the Central Government which is run departmentally, however, will be excluded from this new scheme.

According to the notification, the scheme of workers participation shall be operated both at the shop floor and plant levels in all public sector undertakings (other than those specifically exempted).

As regards participation at the board level, the administrative Ministry or Department concerned (in charge of the undertaking) will draw, in consultation with the Department of Labour, a list of undertakings which it considered would be suitable for introduction of the scheme at the board level also.

This list will be reviewed from time to time with a view to bringing in as many undertakings as possible within its scope.

The representation of the workers at the shop floor and plant levels would cover different categories of workers such as skilled and unskilled, technical and non-technical.

The management and the trade union leaders would ensure that there is adequate representa-

tion for women in the participative forums where women workers constitute 10 per cent or more of the total work force. The management would also ensure that adequate provision is made to safeguard workers' independence from management pressure so as to ensure workers' protection against any harassment or victimisation.

No legislation would be undertaken immediately to give any legislative backing to the scheme. Such a step would however be considered after adequate experience has been gained in the working of the scheme, the notification said.

State Governments have been requested to introduce the scheme in their own public sector undertaking. The private sector would also be encouraged to implement the scheme. It is the intention of the Central Government to bring legislation in due course after gaining experience in the working of the scheme. It is, therefore, in the interest of the private sector also that they should find it advantageous to make a start of their own very early in this direction, the notification added.

The managerial personnel would be excluded, but supervisory categories such as foreman, chageman etc. would be covered by the scheme, the notification said. Both the workers and the management will get equal representation at the shopfloor and plant level forums.

Each party will have a representation of five to ten members depending on the size of the

work force. The exact number would be arrived at by the management in consultation with the trade union leaders in the undertaking.

The management will also consult the concerned trade union leaders and evolve through consensus the mode for representation of workers at all levels at which the scheme would be implemented. In persuading the union leaders to reach a consensus, the management may point out that in the absence of such a consensus, the scheme would not be capable of implementation.

CSO: 4600/1417

NECESSITY OF ANTARCTIC TREATY RENEWAL STRESSED

Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Dec 83 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

ANTARCTICA, THE COLDEST and the most inhospitable land mass of the earth, is said to be the residual formation after the drift, in the dim geological past, of South America, Africa, Australia and New Zealand to their present locations. It is therefore expected to contain mineral wealth of the kind found in these territories. Under the Antarctic treaty which runs till June 1990, the contracting nations — among whom India is one, although a late comer — have agreed to use the continent for scientific research attuned to peaceful purposes. Most of the explorations that have taken place already have been conducted by scientific missions, without resort on the part of the countries concerned to territorial claims of any sort. The intention is to view and utilise Antarctica as nature's laboratory. While some countries feel that there should be no tampering with its resource potential, others have positively set out on a quest for such wealth as the means to offset shortages elsewhere. Water hungry West Asia sees Antarctica as the largest source of fresh water which its icebergs are now protecting. There is much talk about the volume of krill that can be harvested without detriment to the total stock available in that continent. In these circumstances, it is anybody's guess as to how long the treaty nations will refrain from indulging in commercial exploitation with all that it means in terms of a scramble for the pristine riches of this land mass. Which is precisely why the homework on building up the safeguards against such exploitation has to be done and the necessary guidelines charted for the renewal of the current treaty which lapses in 1990.

What the scientists can do to achieve this is by no means negligible. They have already discovered the existence of certain climatological conditions in Antarctica which in a way explain the behaviour of the weather in the southern hemisphere. The Antarctic land mass is seen as playing a significant role in the oceano-

graphic processes in the seas surrounding India. The mixture of cold and warm waters in the marine belt north of Antarctica (which is yet to be probed) is supposed to hold the key to the hidden factors which render tropical meteorology not so exact as its temperate counterpart. Earlier expeditions have brought to light fragments of meteorites. A 31 gramme specimen found by a United States team in the 1981-82 expedition is reported to display properties similar to the soils from lunar highlands. There are other fragments revealing a Martian connection. Obviously, Antarctica seems to have got samples of lunar rock years before the space probes of the United States and the Soviet Union. India, despite being late on the scene, has done some useful scientific spadework in the earlier two expeditions. The third which has landed there now and is going to brave the Antarctic winter has taken with it the expertise and equipment required for the purpose. India's call for treating Antarctica as the common heritage of mankind needs to be heeded or made to be heeded through result-oriented persuasion if the balance of nature in this icy mass is not to be tilted to the long term disadvantage of the many countries to the north of it. Some third world countries are already accusing the member nations of the Antarctic treaty of trying to exploit its resources to the exclusion of others. If there is quick follow up on the United Nations General Assembly resolution asking for a factual study of the natural wealth of this continent, a practical consensus can be evolved and applied to ensure that this wealth is neither squandered away nor allowed to develop into yet another source of international strife.

CSO: 4600/1416

REPORTAGE ON COMMISSIONING OF NEW COAST GUARD SHIP

Defense Minister Speaks

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Dec 83 p 5

[Text] BOMBAY, December 19--THE Indian coast guard would be required to play a key role in all programmes of ocean development, Mr. R. Venkataraman, defence minister, said here today.

He was commissioning the coast guard ship Vikram, designed and built by the Mazagon Dock.

Elaborating on the role of the coast guard, the minister said it had to enforce all national enactments in the exclusive economic zone and ensure that smuggling and other illegal activities were prevented along the country's coastline.

Regarding ocean development, he said: "As resources of land become scarce, we have to locate new sources of supply of valuable raw materials from the seas and oceans. India, accorded 'pioneer' status for sea-bed mining will soon be applying for allocation of a suitable area for the purpose."

Creditable Role

It was a matter of satisfaction, Mr. Venkataraman said, that the coast guard, still in its formative stage and not having all the wherewithal, had acquitted itself with credit in meeting its heavy responsibilities.

The government was fully aware of the requirements of the nation and the need to quickly build up its force level.

The defence minister had "very special praise" for the officers and men of the Mazagon Dock for evolving an indigenous design for Vikram to meet the specific requirements of the coast guard and in having constructed it according to the prescribed time schedule.

Vice-Admiral M. R. Schunker, director-general of the Indian Coast Guard, listing the various tasks the coast guard was expected to perform, said: "We are gearing ourselves up to enforce the laws in the maritime zones covering 2.8 million sq. kms."

He said, during the current financial year, a fixed-wing maritime surveillance force had been established and six ships being built exclusively for the coast guard would join the force by March.

The managing director of Mazagon Dock, Mr. N. K. Sawhney, said the Rs 16.50-crore CGS Vikram was the first of the six off-shore patrol vessels being built by the shipyard for the coast guard.

An advance version of the design was being finalised for the next series. The vessel was classed with the American Bureau of Shipping.

Details of Ship

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Dec 83 p 6

[Text] BOMBAY, December 18--THE first indigenous offshore patrol vessel for the Indian coast guard will be commissioned by the defence minister, Mr. R. Venkatarman, here tomorrow.

To be named Vikram, the vessel, designed and built by Mazagon Dock, has a helicopter on board that greatly enhances its surveillance capabilities.

CGS Vikram is the first of a series of 23 other variants of offshore patrol vessels that will be constructed for the Coast Guard in the next 15 years to 20 years, Vice-Admiral M. R. Schunker, director-general of the Indian Coast Guard, told newsmen yesterday.

Two other vessels similar to CGS Vikram, to be named Vijaya and Veera, are under construction. Vijaya is scheduled to join the coast guard fleet in another month and Veera in one year. Mazagon Dock has received orders to build three more vessels in the series.

22-Vessel Fleet

With the commissioning of CGS Vikram, the six-year-old Indian coast guard will have a fleet of 22 vessels (as against seven in 1976), three helicopters and two fixed-winged aircraft, Admiral Schunker said.

"We have made an impact on the maritime scene with assistance to the customs in anti-smuggling operation, apprehending and prosecuting foreign fishing vessels in the country's maritime zones, monitoring pollution, patrolling Bombay High and assisting fishermen and ships in distress," he said.

For the organisation, 1983-84 was significant as six ships and two aircraft were inducted in the period and a shore establishment was opened. It was "a sizeable quantum jump," he said.

The public sector shipyard at Calcutta, Garden Reach shipbuilders and engineers, was building three seaward defence boats and three inshore patrol vessels for the coast guard, he said.

An amount of Rs. 140 crores was being spent till 1985, in the first phase of the organisation's development plan, he said.

Apprehending poachers in the country's fishing grounds is one of the tasks of the coast guard and it has, since 1981 when the Maritime Zones of India Act was written into the statutes book, prosecuted 37 foreign trawlers for poaching and 24 of the cases have been decided by courts. The seized trawlers are handed over to the agriculture department.

Taiwanese and Thai vessels were among the poachers named. Poachers from friendly countries were being warned and sent away, Admiral Schunker said, but declined to name the countries.

Poachers Named

Notable rescue work included assistance to an UAE-flag cargo vessel during the monsoon, off Okha, and to a ship of the Shipping Corporation of India. Both were helped by CGS Kuthar.

The highly-maneuvrable vessel is fitted with a 40/60 'Bofor' gun (the figures indicate the number of rounds it is capable of firing in one minute) and the deck can take bigger guns if need arises.

The Allouette MK III (Chetak) helicopter on board, besides increasing the area of surveillance, would assist in search and rescue operations and air-borne pollution control, Capt. P. J. Jacob, commanding officer of CGS Kuthar, said.

CGS Vikram is the first vessel of its type to have on board pollution control equipment such as river booms, sea booms, oil mop skimmers, spill spray system, salvage barges and aerial spray systems. Besides it, the Indian fleet has Samudra Suraksha of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission and a barge of the Visakhapatnam port trust equipped for pollution control, but the latter two are dedicated solely for the task.

The vessel has divers' and scuba equipment, as also fire-fighting equipment, spin stabilisers, a sewage treatment plant, and modern navigation and communication equipment.

Capt. N. S. Mohan Ram, who headed the design team at Mazagon Dock, told newsmen that the keel for the Rs. 15-crore ship was laid in March, 1980. It was launched in September, 1981. Its endurance was 3,500 nautical miles at 15 knots (economical speed). The total design was indigenous, he said. The hull was of merchant ship for longer life. It has a crew complement of 88, including 14 officers.

CSO: 4600/1390

BRIEFS

ADMIRAL ZAKHAROV VISIT--BOMBAY, December 19--Three members of the Soviet war veterans committee now on a goodwill visit to India will spend three days as guests of the Indian Ex-Services league (Maharashtra) from today. Led by Admiral Zakharov, they will visit places of interest and tomorrow they will attend the presentation of sewing machines, financial aid and educational scholarships to the dependants of ex-servicemen. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Dec 83 p 5]

X-RAY ACCELERATOR--BOMBAY, December 18 (PIT)--Scientists at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR) here have achieved a major breakthrough by developing an accelerator to generate high energy X-rays which are used in diagnosing metal faults and in cancer therapy. A linear accelerating X-ray machine (LINAC) developed at TIFR is already in operation at the Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre (VSSC) near Trivandrum and is used for detecting faults in thick metallic frames of rocket motors and other hardware. Since the energy of the X-rays from a typical LINAC is normally ten times higher than that from a conventional X-ray tube, their penetrating power is also high. "That is why they are used to detect faults in thick metals and kill cancerous cells," Mr. Syunry explained. To produce high energy X-rays, Mr. Syunry said, electrons are accelerated in a linear accelerator, into which radio frequency (RF) energy is fed from a microwave tube. The energy of the electrons is cumulatively built up as they travel along the accelerator. The energy can be increased to any level depending on the length of the accelerator and the RF power input. The ten-member TIFR team has been working for two and a half years to develop this accelerator. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 19 Dec 83 p 6]

EEC GRANT--BRUSSELS, Dec 20 (AP)--The European Economic Community today donated 31.5 million ECU (Rs 5 crore) to India for rural development and announced other grants worth millions of ECU for several other poor countries. The aid to India, the largest since of the appropriation, will pay for schools in 22 rural areas and an irrigation system in Tamilnadu. Pakistan received seven million ECU (Rs 5.6 crore) for an irrigation project. The aid was part of the EEC's development programme for countries that are not members of the trade block's Atlantic, Caribbean and Pacific client association. Yemen received 5.2 million ECU (Rs 4.2 crore) to rebuild sections of Dhamar province hit by a massive earthquake in December 1982 and improve agriculture in Al Bayda province. The FEC and the ASEAN Development Bank will co-finance a 20 million ECU (Rs 16.2 crore) programme to improve farm production in Thailand. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 21 Dec 83 p 8]

ROK CULTURAL AGREEMENT--India and the Republic of Korea on Saturday signed an agreement for bilateral exchange in the field of education art and culture, mass media sports and games, reports PTI. The culture exchange programme, the third in the series, will be valid for a period of three years and is aimed at strengthening of the relations of friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries. The cultural exchange programme between the two countries was finalised earlier at the India-Republic of Korea joint committee's meeting held in New Delhi on 29 and 30 December, 1983 during the visit of an official level delegation from Seoul. The agreement was signed by Prof C L Anand, joint educational adviser, Ministry of Education and Culture on behalf of the Government of India and Mr Dong Woon Chu, director general Information and Culture, Ministry of Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Korea. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Jan 84 p 5]

CSO: 4600/1418

FOUNDERS OF ISLAMIC STUDENTS SOCIETY EXPELLED FROM FRANCE

Students Expelled from France

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 31 Dec 83 p 3

[Text] According to a CENTRAL NEWS UNIT report from Tehran, another five student members of the Islamic Society of Paris were expelled from France about 0400 hours Tehran time yesterday and sent back to our Islamic homeland following a week of illegal detention.

Last Friday the French Socialist-Zionist government assaulted the homes of a number of Iranian students in France and arrested and detained the students. The French expelled three of the students on Saturday. Dozens of policemen assisted in expelling the five remaining students yesterday morning, beating and injuring the students during the process.

The authorities of the French Socialist-Zionist government trampled underfoot all international laws and ignored the repeated protests of the arrested students and their defense attorneys. Yesterday morning, under the eyes of their defense attorney, the police assaulted the students, injured one of them, handcuffed some of them, and put all of them on the plane by force.

The report adds: The brutal actions by the French police and security forces were so shameless that foreign travelers on the abovementioned flight protested and even expressed their disgust at the police conduct.

These five students were expelled for the crime of having politico-Islamic activities, transforming the Islamic center into a mosque, and according to the statement of the French Interior Ministry, for endangering security. According to the order issued by French civil authorities, one of these students was expelled solely due to a mistake by the French intelligence service and to various similarities.

In any case, the French Socialist-Zionist government's hasty decisions and harsh policies towards the Islamic revolution, its expulsion of this group of Iranian students from France, and the numerous incongruities regarding the selection and detention of these students have shown once again that this action was carried out solely because of Paris' fear of the movement of the Muslims and the region's deprived people and in accordance with Washington's planning.

Students Welcomed Home

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 31 Dec 83 p 3

[Text] Yesterday morning, after 5 days of detention by the fascist French police, five students of the Paris Islamic Society were welcomed in Tehran.

These five were among the founders of the Iranian Islamic Students Society in Paris. They arrived in Tehran on an Islamic Republic Airlines flight following 5 days of harassment and torture at the hands of the French socialist-Zionist regime's police and after enduring numerous tribulations. They were welcomed at the Mehrabad Airport by authorities from the Foreign Ministry.

After arriving in Iran, one of the students was interviewed by IRNA. He condemned the conduct of the French police towards the Iranian students. Concerning the manner and reasons for the arrests and the harsh conduct of the French police, he said: The inhuman French police obtained information from the Hypocrites, and at 0330 hours local time assaulted the homes of a number of brother members of the Islamic Society in France. The police arrested several brothers with insults and brutality as their wives and children watched and took them to the police station. They then transferred them to the city of Reims, 150 kilometers from Paris, and kept them in a building guarded by many policemen.

He added: We were not permitted to do anything during our detention. For example, when we ate we went to another room where we were guarded by about 15 policemen. Explaining the reasons for his and his friends' arrest by the fascist French police, he stated: They had no reasons whatsoever to do this. They arrested us solely for the crime of being Muslims and following the imam. They even expelled us by force from France contrary to their own laws.

He added: The French mercenaries have become terrified as a result of their senseless intervention in Lebanon, their abundant weapons assistance to the mercenary Iraqi regime and the awareness and resistance of the Muslim nations. They carried out this action on the basis on their half-baked idea of ensuring French security and preventing further explosions in France. He also said: Five brothers were previously expelled. We five were transferred to the airport today without our families' knowledge, there taken by force to the airplane without giving us any reason or proof, contrary to the country's laws, and sent off to Iran. As a result of the resistance by the brothers, several of them were injured.

Another one of the students, describing the manner of his arrest, said : When the fascist French police went to my home to arrest me, I was not there. They demanded my address by threatening my wife and holding a weapon in the face of my 9-month-old infant.

He also said: We now have no information at all concerning our families' situation. The French mercenaries did not even give us permission to meet with our families before the flight to Iran.

NVOI VIEWS SIMILARITY OF IRANIAN, TURKISH REGIMES

TA161057 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 14 Jan 84

[Unattributed commentary: "Two Fraternal Regimes"]

[Text] Dear compatriots: In a recent interview Hojjat Ol-Eslam Khamene'i, the president, said that Turkey is our friendly and fraternal country, and the interests of this country are important to us.

This is not the first time that leaders of the Islamic Republic regime have talked about their cordial relations with Turkey--naturally, what they mean is Turkey's American regime. From Yazdi and Qotbzadeh to Khamene'i and Velayati, all have reiterated this point which is no surprise to anyone. For both Turkey's American regime and the U.S. agents in the Islamic Regime are all somehow dependent on world-devouring America, and both implement America's orders and directives.

Within our country one can hardly find a person who is not aware of participation by the Turkish regime in U.S. plots against the Iranian Revolution. Everyone is aware that several camps have been set up on Turkish soil for fugitive Iranian counterrevolutionaries and monarchists, in which these counterrevolutionary elements receive the necessary training for restoration of the previous regime. Undoubtedly, leaders of the Islamic Government, too, are aware of this fact, but they nevertheless continue to mention at every opportunity Turkish-Iranian friendship and cordiality. Of course, the gentlemen authorities are entitled to say this because the leaders of these two regimes, indeed, have fraternal ties and relations. And why should they not have?

Turkey's American regime had and continues to have a hostile stance toward our nation's popular and anti-imperialist revolution. The Islamic leaders also have trampled on the goals and slogans of this revolution. Despite the Turkish Regime's hostile stance toward the Iranian Revolution, the Islamic Regime's government and its leaders have always strived and are striving to maintain large-scale and all-out relations with Turkey's regime in the economic, political and intelligence fields. Signs indicate that both the Iranian and Turkish regimes have very close ties in the intelligence and security fields.

Rulers of Iran's Islamic regime have continued to maintain with Turkey's present regime all the ties that it had with the regime of the accursed shah. In particular, these ties are very extensive in intelligence and security affairs. In an agreement with the shah's regime, Turkey's regime's security forces arrested and delivered to the Islamic regime's executioners a large number of Iranians who were forced to emigrate from the homeland because of police persecution and who were staying in Turkey with the aim of traveling to other European countries. According to reports in hand, recently the fascist Turkish Government--and the brother of the Islamic Government's regime--launched a new and extensive campaign of arrests and repatriation of Iranian political emigres.

Yes, the Turkish regime is arresting and handing over to executioners and butchers of the Islamic regime of Iran certain individuals who fled the homeland to be safe from the persecution and terror of the Islamic regime and who intend to travel to European countries via Turkey--this amid conditions in which in the very same Turkey monarchists and Savakists not only enjoy physical security but also all means of livelihood. The Iranian regime is fully aware of this.

It is noteworthy that while many struggling individuals are forced to leave the homeland because an atmosphere of intense repression and persecution, monarchist and Savakist groups who find the country's situation favorable are returning to Iran and entering the service of the Islamic regime. From this viewpoint, the Iranian and Turkish regimes are indeed friends and brothers, and both are acting together against freedom and democracy. The Turkish regime arrests liberal and struggling individuals in Turkey and hands them over to the Iranian regime, and the Islamic regime of Iran, too, allows Turkey's coupist regime to suppress struggling individuals through Iran. It has rightly been said: Birds of the same feather stick together.

The Islamic regime should be a friend and brother of Turkey's coupist regime because both regimes have betrayed the interests of their nations. As far as the people of both countries and public opinion of the progressive world are concerned, they strongly condemn the criminal and antihuman deeds of the Iranian and Turkish regimes.

CSO: 4640/101

CIVIL AVIATION CHIEF DISCUSSES PLANS FOR TRAINING PERSONNEL

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 20 Dec 83 p 3

[Text] Eng 'Ali Mohammad 'Alikhani, deputy head of civil aviation and head of the Advanced Civil Aviation Training School (ACATS) departed Tehran this morning for an inspection tour of aviation training centers in Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

Before leaving Tehran he gave an exclusive interview to KEYHAN in which he explained the purpose of his visit to the above countries and also the activities and future plans of the ACATS.

At first, concerning his visit to Switzerland and the U.K., he said: During my 10-day inspection of aviation training centers in those countries, I will have discussions and exchange views on various matters with the directors of the centers.

He then pointed to the civil aviation school's activities, and said: Among this organization's most important activities are the development and expansion of the aviation industry, the training of expert pilots and flight supervisory technicians and engineers, and research on various aviation industry problems.

Concerning the various phases of training pilots for the aviation industry, Eng 'Alikhani said: At the present time this organization's pilot school is responsible for training commercial pilots for the country's aviation industry. Through coordination with the Ministry of Sciences and Higher Education an entrance examination for applicants has been set up. Those passing the exam go through another phase of selection and medical exams, etc., and after 2 years of flight training receive a commercial pilots certificate. We then introduce them to organizations needing pilots.

He added: Last month, November, we accepted a number of students in the pilot and aviation technician fields, and they are now in training. We hope that they will become expert in the above areas after taking the various courses and also be very effective in the future.

Concerning the training of Guards brothers in various aviation fields, the head of the ACATS said: Since the formation of a Revolution Guards aviation unit, this organization has carried out four training programs for Guards

brothers. The first group has already graduated, and the second group will graduate at the end of the current year. The subsequent groups are still taking training courses. We have also organized classes to train technicians for the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps Air Unit, and those brothers are now at work serving the Guards Air Unit. The ACATS has also trained pilots for helicopter organizations, the Islamic Republic of Iran Airline, the Asman Airline Company and the Special Services Organization, so that graduates of this school make up 80 to 85 percent of the active personnel in the various flight organizations.

He then pointed to the existing problems of the advanced aviation school, and said: In light of the importance of nourishing thought in a suitable environment, one problem currently confronting the school is its lack of legal independence. This came about because after the victory of the revolution this organization was merged into the Civil Aviation Organization, and it followed the laws of the Administrative and Employment Affairs Organization while that organization did not have special rules concerning professors and personnel for this school. After the passage of several years this problem still affects this organization's programs. In addition, due to a lack of coordination and inequality of wages and benefits in the aviation industry, the advanced aviation school is facing problems. The prime minister has taken steps in this area, and soon the training center's personnel will get benefits.

The ACATS head continued: Regarding the school's independence, a charter has been prepared, and we hope that it will be approved by the cabinet and the Majlis as a single article.

Regarding the implementation of the five-year plan for economic growth and development in the advanced aviation school, he said: According to the basic planning, the technical instruction sections of the training school will be made into two shifts, morning and evening. This will bring about an increase of 650 students in the aviation technician field. In the pilot area we will have 120 students in training by the end of next year. This will be four times the current number.

Concerning the absorption of the personnel from the organization's model training center, Eng 'Alikhani said: There are 1,100 students in training at the model school at the present. According to the special planning done in this area, in 4 years this group will be at an aviation technician level from the knowledge standpoint. Coordination in this area has been carried out with units of the Islamic Republic of Iran Airlines and the Iranian Islamic Revolution Guards Corps Air Units so that these students can fulfill their service obligations in those organizations.

In addition, after a stoppage of 3 years, the Glider Pilot Training School, which was active in attracting people to the pilot field, once again began serving the people at the Karaj Mehr Airport this past summer. The activity of the glider school will expand to the Sari, Esfahan and Tehran airports if the weather is good in the coming year.

Concerning the training of foreign students in various aviation fields, he concluded by saying: Through special planning we try to train students who are abroad as well as those from countries such as Syria and Libya.

INDIA'S RECENT ANTI-PAKISTAN RHETORIC STRONGLY CRITICIZED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 19 Nov 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Policy of Goodwill Toward India Seen as Wasted Effort; Government Advised To Adopt a Tough Attitude"]

[Text] A Pakistani spokesman has reiterated that Pakistan is in no way involved in the disturbances in India, this in response to a recent statement by Mrs Gandhi in parliament. She said that there was evidence of Pakistan's involvement in the disturbances in many parts of India. The Pakistani spokesman indicated that no such evidence was brought to the notice of the Government of Pakistan. The spokesman also alluded to the statement of the governor of Punjab, in which he ruled out the possibility of foreign involvement in his state. Two days prior to the statement by Mrs Gandhi, the Governor of Punjab, Mr B. D. Panday, addressing a conference in Jullundur, stated: "Nothing has been noted that might indicate foreign involvement (in the disturbances)."

Similarly, Mr P. C. Sethi, minister of home affairs, stated in parliament the next day: "The extremists who have been apprehended in eastern Punjab--none of them is foreign-trained. And the weapons found in their possession with foreign markings have not yet reached the central government."

Contradicting statements by different people affirm one simple fact: Mrs Gandhi's allegations are baseless. Nevertheless, Mrs Gandhi has continued in her efforts to malign Pakistan. Now she has chosen Pakistan's efforts to acquire modern weapons as an excuse. But here attempts were thwarted by the timely proposal by Pakistan for a nonaggression pact. The public outcry that developed in India and abroad helped to curb her. Reluctantly, she slowed her anti-Pakistan campaign, but she continued to impede the normalization of relations with Pakistan.

Taking advantage of Pakistan's internal situation, she once again accelerated her anti-Pakistan crusade. However, Pakistan displayed great political maturity and did not let the situation worsen as Mrs Gandhi had expected. Consequently, Mrs Gandhi's campaign was unable to gain momentum. In her disappointment Mrs Gandhi adopted a new strategy. She began to accuse Pakistan of creating disturbances in various state of India. For the past 2 weeks she has adhered stubbornly to this course, but the statements by the minister of home affairs and the governor helped bring out the truth.

It is clear from Mr Sethi's statement that only a few weapons with foreign markings will be presented as evidence. But it is ludicrous that the state government, which supposedly impounded the weapons, is unaware of the matter and the federal government is making the announcement.

It is clear that the idea of "foreign weapons" occurred after Mrs Gandhi's statement in parliament. It is clear that Mrs Gandhi has designs, and she is shaping events to further these designs. This is not hard to believe, given her previous track record. Whatever doubts there might be have been alleviated by revelations about the secret Soviet suggestions from former Prime Minister Mr Morarji Desai.

This is a matter of serious concern for Pakistanis. The objectives of a powerful neighbor, however unrealistic and out of sync with events, are not impossible to achieve. Might brings disregard for the law. The events in Afghanistan and Grenada are the most recent examples. Therefore, we need to be prepared to defend our nation at all times. Our striving towards peace and understanding will not change Mrs Gandhi's intentions. If she is determined to do something, she will find a way to do it. Pakistanis understand the mentality of India quite well. It is not hard to understand the mentality of people who sarcastically paint the "F-16" (the planes provided by the United States to Pakistan). If because of the overtures of reconciliation on the part of Islamabad the rulers of India begin to think that the people of Pakistan have accepted their supremacy, psychologically they could not be more wrong.

9859

CSO: 4656/47

MRS GANDHI'S ANTI-PAKISTAN MACHINATIONS CRITICIZED

Peshawar MASRIQ in Urdu 1 Jan 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Mrs Gandhi Should Tend to Her Own House"]

[Text] The Indira Congress [Party] passed a resolution during its 77th conference declaring that the efforts India has launched to establish stable peace and friendship with Pakistan were being harmed by Pakistan's military preparations. The resolution asks all patriotic forces in India to fully grasp the dangers threatening Indian security as a result of the supply of large quantities of modern weapons to Pakistan. The resolution expresses great anxiety over Pakistan's internal situation and condemns India opposition parties for harming India's national unity by failing to comprehend the danger from Pakistan.

In our opinion, Mrs Gandhi and her ruling party have made the Pakistani threat an election stunt they have established, as a criterion for patriotism that there should be as great a participation as possible in a campaign of hate and vengeance toward Pakistan. This attempt to mislead Indian public opinion for election purposes is such an awkward one that the opposition parties in India are themselves exposing this lie; Bhartiya Janata Party and Lok Dal have severely condemned this hue and cry raised by Congress I to the effect that the security of India is threatened by Pakistan. These parties have stated in a memorandum that the security and national unity of India are facing three dangers: first, Indira Gandhi's deaf and blind desire to prolong her family's power; second, Russia's territorial and world policy; and third, Mrs Gandhi's efforts to align India with Russia's policy and point of view.

This analysis by Indian opposition parties is quite correct. Although Mrs Gandhi professes to carry the banner of democracy, she wants to preserve her family control over India. By raising the spectre of a Pakistani threat in the next elections, she wants to fool the voters. She is calling unpatriotic all those Indians who do not believe that Pakistan poses a danger to Indian security. She is charging with enmity toward India those newspapers that find no justification for Mrs Gandhi's cries of danger. To prove the interdependence between herself and Indian security, she levels the charge that several countries are conspiring to remove far from office

and are using Indian opposition parties as their tools. Obviously, this entire fabric of lies is the result of Mrs Gandhi's obsession with power. She expresses profound anxiety and apprehension over Pakistan's internal situation at a time when she is raising havoc in Assam and east Punjab in order to force Hindu voters to support her ruling party. She has now focused her attention on overturning Dr Farouq Abdulla's government in occupied Kashmir and, to achieve this objective, she is fanning the flames of sectarianism.

Indian opposition parties are justified in their view that Russia's regional and world policies pose a danger to the security of this entire area, including India. Russia is fighting an open imperialist war in Afghanistan; if it succeeds in establishing itself in Afghanistan through the use of force, it will try to make Afghanistans out of other countries in this area. But, unfortunately, Mrs Gandhi ignores this real danger entirely and tries to align India with Russian policy and views. Her action is clearly contrary to the principles of nonalignment; but like Cuba's Fidel Castro, she is playing the role of a Russian satellite while leading the movement for nonalignment.

We would not have paid the slightest attention to what Mrs Gandhi is doing for the sake of her political and election objectives because these are internal matters, and as a matter of principle, we have always been opposed to interference in the internal affairs of any country. Unfortunately, Mrs Gandhi has focused her election campaign on the danger from Pakistan and without any cause or reason is blaming Pakistan for everything. She sees Pakistan's hand in the situation existing in Assam, east Punjab and occupied Kashmir; and she sees the clouds of war rising over the subcontinent from Pakistan's direction. We only wish that she would cease to blame Pakistan, without any justification, for her own domestic problems and take care of her own affairs. The people of Pakistan also wish that for the sake of the security and stability of the entire area, Mrs Gandhi would not calmly accept Russian aggression in Afghanistan. By her zealous and unjustified support of Russia, she endangers the interests of the entire area.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, it understands the geographical and political changes taking place in this region and has accepted the fact that restoration of the independence and neutrality of Afghanistan is essential to the security of the entire area. Furthermore, by creating an atmosphere of mutual confidence and friendship among the small and large countries of this area, the future of the region will be assured. With this aim in view, Pakistan has offered to sign an agreement of nonaggression with India. If India acts in good faith and realism, it will accept Pakistan's offer with an open heart and cease its baseless propaganda against Pakistan.

9863

CSO: 4656/66

PPP OFFICIALS ON BENAZIR BHUTTO'S DEPARTURE

GF151404 Karachi DAWN in English 12 Jan 84 p 1

[Excerpt] Karachi, 11 Jan--Sources of the defunct PPP [Pakistan People's Party] have asked people not to impute "any meaning" to Miss Benazir Bhutto's release and her departure abroad.

Neither this gesture on the part of the government would create a new climate of understanding nor would it make any difference to the PPP's or the MRD's declared resolve towards restoration of democracy in the country, they said.

Apart from the fact that Benazir's release for treatment abroad was welcome from the humanitarian point of view, to the party cadre there was not much difference in the situation, they contended.

The PPP sources said it would have been a different matter if Benazir had just been set free unconditionally. She could then freely disclose her intention to travel overseas for treatment of her chronic ear trouble and also to be with her ailing mother, Begum Nusrat Bhutto.

Makhdoom Amin Fahim, acting president of the Sind Provincial PPP, categorically denied that Benazir had ever sought permission from the government for treatment abroad. Any suggestion from any quarter to this effect could be misleading as Benazir "I know, is an uncompromising lady in matters of decorum and self-respect", he said.

However, he pointed out that Dr Imdad Baluch, her physician, did advise the government on Benazir's acute ear trouble requiring treatment abroad.

"We all were anxious about her health and are naturally relieved to know that she has proceeded abroad for treatment," he said.

Makhdoom Amin Fahim, in reply to a question, dispelled the notion that Benazir's absence from the political scene, for the time being, was likely to cause disarray in the party's rank and file. Nor would it bring about any significant political developments in the country as she had not gone away "for good".

CSO: 4600/321

PAKISTANI PAPER ON BENAZIR BHUTTO'S DEPARTURE

GF151418 Karach DAWN in English 12 Jan 84 p 7

[Editorial: "Exit Miss Bhutto"]

[Text] The government had done well to release Miss Benazir Bhutto. The acting chairman of the defunct People's Party and the daughter of the former prime minister, Miss Bhutto had been under detention since March 1981. She was also known to be suffering from chronic ear trouble which could have led to serious complications. This, so it is said, necessitated the decision to permit her to go abroad for medical treatment. Miss Benazir Bhutto's departure from the country, however, cannot be a politically neutral affair. Although she had been under house-arrest and was in no position to influence the course of events, she was potentially a political heavy weight. While some would view her departure as having created a vacuum, there are others who feel that the decks have now been cleared for the long-delayed process of political normalization. For in some quarters the feeling had been strong for quite some time that the presence of the Bhutto ladies in the country presented an obstacle in the way of a political settlement. It had been pointed out at times that the leadership role Begum Bhutto and Benazir had come to play in the party tended to perpetuate the Bhutto personality cult which imparted a sense of recalcitrance and a spirit of vindictiveness to the PPP's programmes and policies. In fact, it had been mentioned in some circles, that the People's Party participation in the elections under the leadership of one of the Bhutto ladies, especially Miss Bhutto, could lead to serious political polarization.

Rightly or wrongly, these fears were believed to be obstructing the restoration of the political process and the holding of elections in Pakistan. Now that Benazir Bhutto has left the country, her mother having proceeded abroad much earlier, it is time a serious move was made to reactivate politics. The government should now consider lifting the ban on political activities and preparing for elections. The first step, without which no positive political process can be initiated, should no doubt be the release of all political leaders now in detention. Elections cannot be held or power transferred to a representative government, unless a mutually agreed framework for the holding of elections and other relevant matters is evolved. After all, what the country needs is not simply an exercise which would involve

going through the motion of holding elections and restoring democratic forms. It is equally important that this exercise have political credibility which it can have only if it is endorsed by major leaders of all shades of opinion, and results in the broad-based participation of political parties of standing. This, in turn, would be possible if the government reaches an understanding with the main political leaders on the broad scheme for the transfer of power. But no meaningful dialogue with the opposition can take place while political leaders are under house-arrest or in jail. They should be released unconditionally and the cooperation sought in initiating negotiations on the basic issues confronting the nation.

The president had announced a plan for the transfer of power in August. From the look of things it appears that this plan still stands, although it has not evoked a positive response from all political quarters. Moreover, the August 12 plan bypassed some important issues, such as the role of parties in the next electoral process and the future political set-up. These are fundamental issues on which a consensus has to be evolved before any meaningful step can be taken in the direction of restoring a political government. In terms of the universal experience of mankind political parties have come to be accepted as an integral part of a democratic system for more than a century. Without the organization and platform for articulation of major strands of opinions on important issues and problems, politics would be a confused process lacking in coherence, and based on narrow, individualistic factors. However, if the authorities feel that the conditions in this country justify the holding of elections on a non-party basis, they should first seek the opinion of all political leaders who matter. It is obvious that without their cooperation, elections, whether held on a party or a non-party basis, will lack credibility and fail to win universal acceptance.

CSO: 4600/321

PAKISTANI PAPER COMMENTS ON ICO SUMMIT

GF271950 Karachi DAWN in English 22 Jan 84 p 7

[Editorial: "Decisions at Casablanca"]

[Text] The ICO summit which concluded at Casablanca on Thursday has proved to be more than a ceremonial gathering of dignitaries. That member-states attached considerable importance to the summit is obvious from the large attendance. Iran was the only member to have stayed away, apart from Egypt and Afghanistan whose membership remains suspended. Although resolutions were adopted by consensus on important questions, such as the Middle East, Lebanon, Cyprus, Afghanistan, Namibia and science and technology, the Casablanca moot will stand out for other decisions which are bound to have profound implications for the solidarity of the Islamic world. The two major issues which dominated the proceedings were Egypt's re-entry into the ICO and the Gulf war. For over three years, the two questions--Egypt's relationship with Israel and the Iran-Iraq war--have divided the Islamic Conference. At Casablanca the participants made it clear that they were prepared to take a categorical stand on these issues even if it meant sacrificing the principle of consensus in ICO's decisionmaking procedure. Thus, the resolution on Egypt's re-entry was adopted by a vote of 32 in the face of resolute opposition from nine members. The organization now stands divided and Egypt's re-entry still remains an open question, for Cairo has refused to accept any precondition. If the ICO committee which is to visit Cairo fails to obtain the Egyptian Government's adherence to the ICO resolution on Camp David, Egypt will continue to be excluded from the ICO's ranks. Even as Egypt's return is debated, the rift between the hardliners and the moderates has begun to widen. In this context, the ICO's decision to depart from its normal procedure of decisionmaking could prove to be extremely significant, especially if it sets a precedence.

Similarly, on the Gulf war the ICO decided to go in for a firm stand which is not exactly nonpartisan, tilting as it does in favor of Iraq. In the absence of Iran, the resolution was adopted without a vote. It could have further divided the ranks if Iran had been present to mobilize support for its cause. Given this stance, it was not surprising that the team dispatched to Tehran from Casablanca to persuade the Iranian Government to attend the summit failed in its mission. Whether the nine-member Islamic peace committee which has been asked to continue its "noble mission of seeking an end

to the fratricidal conflict" will prove to be more successful remains to be seen. Another divisive issue is the rift in the PLO. This, however, was not taken up at the summit and so it can be expected to continue to complicate the situation in Lebanon.

But in matters of war and peace, the ICO summit has acted positively in one respect. It has decided to establish an arbitration commission to settle inter-state disputes among the members. This is an important measure and if it actually leads to the resolution of even a few of the numerous conflicts which divide the Muslim countries, the ICO's fourth summit's achievement will have been a major one. In reality much will depend on the political will and spirit the Islamic states show in tackling their problems. If they are determined to forge a fair degree of cohesion in their approach to important international issues, they should not find it too difficult to find a media in conflicting situations, especially when a machinery for conciliation is available. Even in other matters, the ICO has to show a greater resolve to act, if it is to succeed in its objectives. Thus, the resolutions on the Middle East, Afghanistan and science and technology as well as the charter adopted at Casablanca in which the leaders have vowed to consolidate their bonds of solidarity are important in that they underline the broad unity of approach of the members on these important issues. But these documents by no means ensure that effective measures will in fact be taken. It is when it comes to action and implementation that the ICO emerges at its weakest. Whether Casablanca has made any difference to this trend is a matter that will from now on be keenly watched.

CSO: 4600/321

SHORTCOMINGS IN EFFORT TO CREATE ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT NOTED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 28 Dec 83 p 2

[Article by Jumma Khan: "What Is Islam and What Is Islamic Government?"]

[Excerpts] What is Islam? What is an Islamic government? Is it not a puzzle? If it is not a puzzle, then who has made it a riddle for the whole world?

Over 40 countries in the world are considered Muslim, and their combined population is about 1 billion. These countries are not short of money, educated people or religious leaders. There is no dearth of generals either. These countries have everything except an Islamic form of government. None of them is friends with either the United States or the Soviet Union. They are not even friendly with each other; instead, they fight among themselves. None of these countries has the ability or resources to act as a peacemaker should two Islamic countries have a fight.

Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world. It does not have an Islamic form of government. The Islamic movement is banned there and the veil is not used. There is no veil custom in Malaysia either. The same is true for Bangladesh. The kind of veil rules our leaders want to implement in our country are not practiced even in Turkey, Lebanon, Armenia [as published], Iraq and other Islamic countries.

Several Islamic countries are practicing strict secularism. Egypt, Turkey, Tunisia, Indonesia, Syria, Algeria and Iraq are prominent among these countries. The concept of secularism in these countries means that the government keeps hands off religious issues and will neither support any particular religion nor discriminate against anyone on the basis of religion. Some Islamic countries have embraced socialism and do not like any activities based on religion. We are all aware of the situation in Afghanistan. We know that Afghans are angry at the presence of the Soviet Army. About 3 or 4 million Afghans have emigrated to Iran or Pakistan. Millions more are fighting the Soviets while hiding in the mountains. They want to throw the Soviet Army out of their country and establish a popular government. We call these people Afghan Mujahidin.

We are well aware that the USSR and Afghanistan have been friends for over 60 years. Long before the times of Shah Zahir Shah and Sardar Daud, a law was passed banning the veil in Afghanistan, but this law did not cause guerilla warfare. Afghans never had a right to vote, but until the arrival of the Soviet Army they did not complain about it. All earlier Afghan governments have been pro-Soviet, but no one ever demanded an end to Soviet influence or the start of Islamic rule. Jihad is being practiced today. Afghans are being called to sacrifice their lives in the name of Allah and the country. Many other Islamic countries are on friendly terms with the USSR but we never ask those countries to leave the Soviet sphere of influence. But now Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and several other countries are demanding the expulsion of the Soviets from Afghanistan and the establishment of Islamic rule there. If a country is pro-Soviet, the presence or absence of a Russian army there does not make any difference. Each country has a right to pick its own friends and enemies.

Muslims and non-Muslims are amazed at the fact that no one has tried to implement an Islamic form of government when they have such faith in Islam and a government system based on it. Why do none of the Islamic countries have an Islamic system of government? Nobody answers this question.

Millions of people gather in Saudi Arabia for the haj. This is the country where the Prophet of Islam was born. Saudis and other Arabs have more knowledge of Islam and the Koran than Muslims elsewhere. How many Arab countries, however, have Islamic governments? In Saudi Arabia, they have a hereditary monarchy, which our leaders label anti-Islamic. They point out that Islam does not support hereditary monarchies. We see, however, that several Islamic countries including Saudi Arabia, Armenia and Marrakesh [as published], have monarchies.

In the recent past, three countries were the center of attention because of an Islamic movement: Pakistan, Iran and Sudan. Iranians claim to have succeeded in bringing about an Islamic revolution. Imam Khomeyni, their religious leader, declared that as long as capable persons are not available, the religious leaders will run the government in Iran. He considers both the United States and the USSR enemies of Islam. He believes that the day the United States praises Iran would be a sad day. He also feels that there have been some mistakes in the implementation of Islamic rule in Iran. We cannot overlook the fact here that no Islamic or non-Islamic country is friendly with Iran. All countries, including Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq, are keeping their distance from Iran.

They have a prohibition on alcoholic beverages in Sudan, and then they released thousands of criminals on the pretext that they were not sentenced according to Muslim laws. Then they declared the establishment of an Islamic government and jailed thousands of leaders. Since there are many non-Muslims in Sudan, they rose against this religious discrimination and the establishment of a secular government. They want the government to stop discriminating on the basis of religion.

Now let us look at Pakistan. All of the Islamic laws implemented here face strong opposition. Sunni and Shiite Muslims do not agree on these laws. Both factions are stubborn on their stands. Right now, we not only have factionalism among the Muslims but also a large number of non-Muslims. Nevertheless, the government is bent on establishing Islamic rule. An Islamic penal code has been established and laws for witnesses are also being written:

Cut off the head of a murderer, dismember a thief, stone an adulterer to death and whip any criminal.

Is that all there is to Islam? Does not Islam require more than that?

Islam does not allow lending money at interest.

Islam does not allow women to go out without a veil.

Islam does not allow slavery.

Islam does not allow the keeping of a slave girl.

Islam does not allow four marriages unless the first wife gives her written permission.

We have, instead, some common law which the religious leaders consider anti-Islamic. These laws cannot be cancelled now. Our leaders want an economic system without any interest on loans but we have failed in this regard. The veil is not practiced in our schools or government and private offices. Many cities have open prostitution. We have not banned anti-Islamic programs, especially those with vulgar songs, on television and radio. The practice of declaring the government treasury open to the public, which was common during the era of the caliphate and the Prophet, has not been followed here.

Jihad has been declared essential to Islam but not a single Muslim came forward for jihad to help Muslims in Kashmir, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Palestine and the Philippines. They are afraid they might have had to face a superpower or that the enemy was too strong. Thus, they avoid jihad and use peaceful treaties to solve these problems. On the other hand, we saw a hungry and naked country like Vietnam, which is not even Muslim, force out a superpower like the United States. Muslims in Algeria did not follow any jihadic tradition, but they expelled an atomic power like France from their country. The non-Muslim population of Zimbabwe forced a power like England to leave their country. What do you conclude from these facts?

7997

CSO: 4656/62

MRD UNDERMINES ITS OWN CAUSE; GOVERNMENT MUST AID POLITICAL PROCESS

Karachi JANG in Urdu 14 Nov 83 p 3

[Text] Mr Haroon, minister of the interior, in giving a detailed report on the country's internal situation to the current session of the Majlis-e Shura, provided some statistics concerning the MRD campaign. According to him, 61 people have died, 20 of them law enforcement officers, and 200 were injured, of which 50 belonged to law enforcement agencies. During the campaign, 4,691 people were arrested; 2,121 have been released and 2,570 are still in prison. The governor of Sind announced that those who were not involved in any serious crime and are sorry for their actions are being released after competing a written apology. The minister said that the figures issued by the defunct People's Party [PPP] and the MRD are totally inaccurate. He also denied the allegation that the prisons having been filled, schools are now being used to hold prisoners.

The minister cited many incidents of lawlessness during the campaign, such as the episode in which a procession led by Mr Gulam Mustufa Jatoi in the town of Moro blocked a highway and struck the national flag from a government building and in its place hoisted the PPP flag. The agitation took a new turn after these events.

The minister went on to say in his report to the Majlis-e Shura that the pseudocampaign has ended now and the situation is returning to normal. Because patriotic people have seen with their own eyes the terroristic activities of the MRD, which are harmful to the nation, they have come out against the politics of violence. The people of Sind Province in particular have made it clear that their love for their homeland is not less than that of people living elsewhere in the country.

The figures given by the minister of the interior indicate that of the dead and the wounded a third and a quarter, respectively, belong to law enforcement agencies. But law enforcement officers are usually trained and armed people, whereas those participating in the processions are innocent, unarmed civilians. If the nature of the campaign were peaceful, the number of the dead and wounded would never have been so high. In view of various activities of sabotage, as borne out by the figures, certain people had no interest in a peaceful transfer of power or in a restoration of democracy. They must have had some other objectives.

The leaders of the MRD cannot really substantiate their uninvolved in such violent and destructive activities. Nor have they taken any effective steps to get rid of violent elements in their campaign. Besides, the people have also failed to get answers from prominent MRD leaders in regard to their foreign trips--trips that have no bearing on the campaign.

The stand of the Indian Government and the praise and support for it voiced by the MRD has led to much speculation. Although the people wanted an end to marshal law and a restoration of democracy and the 1973 constitution, they refrained from participating in the campaign. One reason was that from its very inception the campaign took a violent turn. Besides, people became suspicious because of India's stand in favor of the campaign and the foreign travels of MRD leaders. They have been victims of foreign conspiracies before, and as the adage goes, once burned, twice cautious. We put the integrity and security of the nation before anything else. The government should not misunderstand that the campaign failed because of a lack of planning and good management; the main reason is people's love for freedom and national integrity. The problem of law and order to which the minister referred can be alleviated by removing its root cause. A political vacuum for an indefinite period leads to the dissolution of the natural process of political evolution. It also leads to the suspension of public participation in national affairs. And the sense of deprivation that it engenders among the people is variously colored by different interest groups.

A restriction on political activities prevents patriotic groups from playing an effective role in the society; nor can the peaceful and patriotic majority express its sentiments.

What is needed now is that this vacuum and state of political inaction be ended. Whatever ambiguities there were in the 12 August announcement are clarified now. Steps in the political process can be taken by announcing a schedule for the elections. This will breathe life into the national political process and propel democratic forces forward. It will also curb the tendency toward tyranny and destruction. Administrative steps can be a temporary measure but they are not a solution in themselves. The solution to a political problem can be found in political action.

9859

CSO: 4656/42

REVIVAL OF RCD SUPPORTED

GF211415 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 14 Jan 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Revival of the RCD"]

[Excerpts] The Government of Pakistan has welcomed the revival of the Regional Cooperation for Development [RCD] as proposed by Iran and a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry in Islamabad has said that an RCD session was held on R [as received] deputies' level, wherein proposals to make it active and dynamic were reviewed. The Pakistani ambassador represented Pakistan in this organization. Another session is scheduled to be held on the same level and the other committees of the organization, such as the "Supreme Council" and Regional Cooperation Council will soon begin work.

The real issue is the cooperation among Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan, which are linked geographically and in many other ways. The Islamic revolution and the (unfortunate phenomenon) of the Iran-Iraq war has created a situation whereby Iran's dependence on Turkey and Pakistan has increased. This is also a reason for cooperation. However, it should be assessed how countries can cooperate and fulfill each other's needs without any interference in each other's internal affairs. This will not only be beneficial for all concerned, but will also contribute to and assist in regional peace and stability and collaboration in the commercial, industrial, and technical fields and can pave the way for greater cooperation. The most important factor however, is that they must be each other's wellwishers helpers, and should cooperate for mutual benefits without any interference in one another's international affairs.

Iran's interest in making the RCD an active organization again is a refreshing change and an encouraging design. It is a greater source of happiness that, with Iran's show of interest, the RCD has been revived from a dormant stagnant state, which was due to Iran's indifference.

CSO: 4656/78

BRIEFS

TRADE TIES WITH IRAN GROWING--Karachi, 21 Jan--Iran will participate in a big way in the Pakistan international trade fair to be held in Karachi from September 1 to 21, 1984, as part of its efforts to promote two-way trade. This was disclosed by Mr Hoseyn (Vahhaji) Iran's deputy minister of commerce and leader of the visiting Iranian trade delegation, while speaking at a luncheon arranged in his honour by the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry [FPCCI] at a local hotel. He also referred to the new direction of Iran's trade relations after the historic Islamic revolution and said that after the victory of revolution his country reoriented its trade policies with a view to promoting all-round commercial ties with Islamic countries. He said as a result of this new orientation two-way trade between his country and Pakistan received a new fillip. Earlier FPCCI president, Mr Saifullah Khan Paracha, welcomed the Iranian initiative for the revival of RCD [Regional Cooperation for Development]. Referring to two-way trade, he said during 1982-83 Iran emerged as Pakistan's single largest buyer, importing goods worth Rs 4,225.2 million or 12.3 percent of Pakistan's total exports. [From the Economic and Business Review Section] [Excerpts] [GF271238 Karachi DAWN in English 22 Jan 84 p 1]

RULING AGAINST FAMILY PLANNING--Rawalpindi, 11 Jan--The Islamic Ideology Council has ruled out family planning as anti-Islamic and has advised the government to ignore Education Ministry's recommendations that family planning be included in curriculum. The Islamic Ideology Council has recommended based on the fact that there is no justification for family planning in Islam because Islam does not prescribe that human births should be prevented to save food. Food, it said, is provided by God and practicing family planning would amount to challenging God's rule. It also said that man should not kill fellow human beings to save food. [Text] [GF160919 Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 12 Jan 84 p 1]

END OF USURY DEMANDED--Islamabad--The committees formed at the recent Ulema convention have recommended that usury be ended in the country by June 1984. These committees have expressed grave concern over practice of usury in business and have said that 95 percent of the economy in Pakistan still practices interest loans and that the interest-free scheme introduced by the government is a mere eyewash. Changing a name does not change the real nature of the activity. The committees issued their recommendations after submitting the interest-free banking scheme for scrutiny by the Islamic Ideology Council and after enlisting its ruling. The committees said that the government saving scheme and home-building finance corporations that claim to be run on interest-free systems are not interest free. They have only changed the name. Therefore, the committees recommend that interest be banned by June 1984 to help speed the Islamization of the economy. [Excerpt] [GF182042 Lahore JANG in Urdu 8 Jan 84 pp 1, 8]

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